AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, TRAVELS, AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCE IN THE Work of the Ministry OF *SAMUEL BOWNAS.*

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PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

Tr.R.
B787J

THE following Sheets exhibit to thy Perusal a *plain Man's* plain and undisguised Account of his own Progress in Religion: An artless Narrative of his sincere and hearty Endeavours, as much as in him lay, to promote the Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ in the Earth.

The Motives inducing him to undertake the Office of a *Preacher*, appear to have been perfectly consonant to the Precepts of Holy Writ, and to the Practice of Christ and his Apostles, *viz.*

1*st*. A *clear*, *cogent* and *convincing Evidence* of a divine Call, and heavenly Impulse thereunto.

2*dly*. An indispensible Sense of his Duty necessarily obliging him to yield Obedience to that Call. And

3*dly*. The sweet Returns of inward Peace and divine Consolations accompanying his Obedience therein, did greatly conduce to his Confirmation and Perseverance in the Way of his Duty.

To

To the Performance of which he found himself measurably prepared and qualified; for his own Experience of the Love of God, and of the Operations of his holy Spirit, in gradually purging out the Corruptions of his own Heart, did excite and augment in him a Christian Love to his fellow Creatures, attended with an Ardency of Zeal, and an incessant Desire, for their Conversion.

An inward Purgation from Sin is so necessary, and so essential a Qualification of a Gospel Minister, that no Man can be such without it;

Nor doth God send any unclean Messengers on his Errand:

It being the constant Method of his divine Wisdom, under this Gospel Dispensation, through the purging of his holy Spirit, to cleanse and purify the Inside of every Vessel, which he permits to be made Use of in the Service of his Sanctuary. Wherefore,

Every unsanctified Pretender to preach the Gospel of Christ, deserves to have his Mouth stopt with that unanswerable Query of our blessed Saviour to the *Pharisees* of old; *O Generation of Vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good Things? for out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh.* Mat. xii. 34.

A Practice of this Nature abounds with the groſſeſt of Abſurdities, and ſtands emphatically exploded, even in the Time of the *Moſaicdeck* Law, by the Royal Pſalmiſt, in theſe Words: *Unto the Wicked God ſaith, What haſt thou to do to declare my Statutes, or that thou ſhouldeſt take my Covenant in thy Mouth?* Pſalm l. 16.

But alas! *Self-Intereſt* prompts Men to turn a deaf Ear even to the moſt divine Expoſtulations, and unholy Perſons will, in deſpight of the moſt expreſs Prohibitions, continue to intrude themſelves beyond their Bounds; and will be ſtill buſying and employing themſelves about external Circumſtances and Ceremonies, while the Life, Spirit and Subſtance of true Religion is placed above their Reach, and unattainable by them, until it ſhall pleaſe God, in the exceeding Riches of his Grace, to cleanſe their Hearts from all Unrighteouſneſs; of which Converſion we heartily wiſh for a nearer Proſpect than we can diſcern at preſent.

We now return to the Author of the enſuing Narrative, who was another Sort of Preacher; a free Giver of what himſelf had freely received, a liberal and open-hearted Communicator of his religious Experiences unto all other Men, without Reſpect of Perſons.

He directed all the Sheep of Chriſt to follow the Voice of Chriſt himſelf, the good Shepherd, whoſe Omnipreſence renders his Voice audible to every

one of his Sheep, however ſeparate or diſperſed throughout the World.

His Converſation was free, generous and affable; neither did he ſhun the Society of thoſe whom he was ſent to convert; his Miſſion being ſomewhat correſpondent to that of his Lord and Maſter, who declared concerning himſelf: *I am not come to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance.* Mat. ix 13.

He was of a grave Deportment, and of a tall, comely and manly Aſpect: His publick Preaching was attended with ſuch a divine Authority and majeſtick Innocence, as commanded the Attention of his Hearers; and his Voice being clear, ſtrong and diſtinct, was capable of conveying his profitable Exhortations to the Ears and Underſtandings of a very numerous Auditory; of which a remarkable Inſtance appears in his Preaching at *Jedburgh* in *Scotland*, mentioned in Page 46, 47, of his Account.

His literal Accompliſhments were but ſmall, extending little farther than to enable him to read the Scriptures in his Mother Tongue; yet by conſtant Uſe and Application, he became thoroughly verſed therein, and enabled by the Force of their Teſtimony, to confront and confute the Gain-ſayers of his Doctrine, which was in all Points ſtrictly agreeable to, and conſonant therewith.

In the religious Society to which he was joined, he conducted himſelf as a Man of Peace and Prudence,

dence, chuſing to walk in the plain and middle Path, without declining to any Extream; ſo that he neither idolized Forms, nor contemned *good Order*.

His Eſtimation and Repute among his Friends and Neighbours, may appear by the Teſtimony of the Monthly and Quarterly-meetings of *Bridport* in *Dorſetſhire*, to which he belonged, given forth ſince his Deceaſe, wherein they ſay, that "It pleaſ-"ed the Lord to endue him with a large Gift in "the Miniſtry, in which he was a faithful La-"bourer, and gave himſelf up for that Service; "that he had a Gift of Utterance ſuperior to "many, ſound in Judgment and Doctrine, and "very convincing to the Underſtandings of thoſe "that heard him."

This Teſtimony concerning him is true, and a Man of his Penetration and Capacity could not but diſcern his own Improvement in the Gift he had received: Wherefore he ſtood upon his Guard, leſt through Self-love and Conceit, he ſhould depart from that Humility, which is the Ornament of every Goſpel Miniſter, as in Page 38 he has particularly obſerved.

Which *Chriſtian* Virtue was generally his Concomitant, during the Courſe of his Pilgrimage; and is remarkable in the Compoſure of this Account, in keeping it clear from, and unſullied with any the leaſt Tincture or Symptom of Self-Applauſe.

As

As in Preaching, his Declarations proceeded from his Heart, ſo in Writing, his Relations of his Services, and his Exhortations, ſprang from the ſame Fountain.

Wherefore we recommend to thy ſerious Conſideration what he has written, as comprehended in that excellent Deſcription of a good Man, given by CHRIST himſelf, *Luke* vi. 45. *A good Man, out of the good Treaſure of his Heart, bringeth forth that which is good.*

May the Good brought forth out of this good Man's Heart effectually reach unto thine, and through the divine Bleſſing operate to thy ſpiritual Benefit, Growth and Improvement in that which is good.

So ſhall the Deſign of the deceaſed Author, in leaving behind him this Account of his Life and Travels, be in ſome degree anſwered, and the Prefixer of this *Preface* ſhall have the End he aims at, who with ſincere Deſires for the ſaving Health and Welfare of thee and all Mankind, takes his Leave, and bids thee heartily *Farewell.*

J. BESSE.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE and TRAVELS OF *SAMUEL BOWNAS.*

I Was born in *Weſtmoreland*, within the Compaſs of great *Strickland* Monthly-meeting, about the Year 1676, and was entered in that Regiſter; and my Father dying before I was one Month old, I never knew him, but I have been informed, that he was very honeſt and zealous for Truth in his Time, having been a conſiderable Sufferer for the Cauſe of Religion, both in Loſs of Goods and Liberty, the Meeting being kept in his Houſe in ſome of the hotteſt Time of Perſecution in King *Charles* the *Second*'s Reign. Being left ſo young, and my Mother having but a ſcanty Subſiſtance of about *4l.* 10*s.* a Year, with a Dwelling for herſelf and two Children, I was about Thirteen put to learn the Trade of a *Blackſmith*, with an Uncle who uſed me unkindly; I was afterwards put an Apprentice to a very

honeſt Friend belonging to *Brigflatts* Meeting, near *Sedberg*, in *Yorkſhire*, his Name was *Samuel Parat*; but all this Time I had no Taſte of Religion, but devoted myſelf to Pleaſure, as much as my Circumſtances would permit, tho' my Mother had kept me very ſtrict while I was under her Care, and would frequently in Winter Evenings take Opportunities to tell me ſundry Paſſages of my dear Father's Sufferings, admoniſhing me ſtill ſo to live, that I might be worthy to bear the Name of ſo good a Man's Son, and not bring a Reproach on myſelf and Parents; alſo frequently putting me in mind, that if ſhe ſhould be taken away, I ſhould greatly miſs her, both for Advice and other Ways to aſſiſt me; and adviſed me to fear the Lord now in my Youth, that I might be favoured with his Bleſſing; which frequently brought me into great Tenderneſs, being afraid that ſhe would die before I was capable to live in the World; and ſhe took me frequently to Meetings with her, where ſhe often had ſome Words in Teſtimony: Perſecution being ſtill very hot, and Friends lock'd out of our Meeting-houſe at *Strickland*, we met at the Door, and I remember at two ſeveral Times when I was a Child, and came to Meeting with my Mother, the Informers came, the firſt Time the Meeting had been over about half an Hour, the ſecond Time not quite ſo much, ſo that we eſcaped their Hands both Times; but ſundry Friends were in Priſon at *Appleby* for attending that Meeting, whom my dear Mother went to viſit, taking me along with her, and we had a Meeting with the Priſoners, ſeveral Friends from other Places being likewiſe

wiſe there by Appointment. What I obſerved was, though very young, how tender and broken they were; and I was very inquiſitive of my Mother, why they cried ſo much, (which we called Greeting) and thee greet too, (ſaid I) why did thee? She told me that I could not underſtand the Reaſon of it then, but when I grew up more to Man's Eſtate I might.

Now to return to my Apprenticeſhip; I had a very kind loving Maſter and Miſtreſs, and I had Meat enough, and Work enough, but had little Conſideration about Religion, nor any Taſte thereof. On *Firſt-days* I frequented Meetings, and the greater Part of my Time I ſlept, but took no Account of Preaching, nor received any other Benefit than being there kept out of bad Company, which indeed is a very great Service to Youth. I took much Liberty in Diſcourſe, and was taken Notice of as a witty, ſenſible young Man: But often on my Bed I ruminated on my Way of Life with Reluctance, yet frequently fell into the ſame Way again: I never was given to Swearing, nor any very groſs Vice, but what I gave way to the moſt, was Jeſting, and Turns of Wit to provoke Mirth, which gave me often (after it was over) a heavy Heart; and thus I went on for near three Years; but one *Firſt-day*, being at Meeting, a young Woman, named *Anne Wilſon*, was there and preached; ſhe was very zealous, and fixing my Eye upon her, ſhe with a great Zeal pointed her Finger at me, uttering theſe Words with much Power, 'A traditional *Quaker*, thou comeſt to Meeting as thou went from it (the laſt Time) and goeſt from it as thou came to it, but art no better

' for thy coming, what wilt thou do in the End ?' This was ſo pat to my then Condition, that, like *Saul*, I was ſmitten to the Ground, as it might be ſaid, but turning my Thoughts inward, in ſecret I cried, *Lord, what ſhall I do to help it ?* And a Voice as it were ſpoke in my Heart ſaying, *Look unto me and I will help thee!* and I found much Comfort, that made me ſhed abundance of Tears. Then I remembered what my Mother told me ſome Years before, that when I grew up more to Man's Eſtate, I ſhould know the Reaſon of that Tenderneſs and weeping, and ſo I now did to Purpoſe. I went home with a heavy Heart, and could neither eat nor ſleep as I uſed to do, but my Work never ſucceeded better in my Hands than it did at this Time, nor my Mind never leſs in it; but my Conduct, as well as Countenance, was much altered, ſo that ſeveral in the Family were doubtful that I ſhould fall into a kind of melancholy Diſtraction; but I longed for the Meeting-day, and thought it a very long Week. When the Time of Meeting came, my Mind was ſoon fixed and ſtaid upon God, and I found an uncommon Enjoyment that gave me great Satisfaction, my Underſtanding being opened, and all the Faculties of my Mind ſo quick, that I ſeemed another Man; a divine and ſpiritual Sweetneſs abiding with me Night and Day, for ſome Time, and I began to ſee and underſtand the Scriptures, and the Nature of preaching the Doctrine of the Goſpel in the Power and Spirit, plainly ſeeing a Difference between a Preacher of the Letter and of the Spirit, which till then I was wholly ignorant of, and unacquainted

acquainted with, not having before that, the least Degree that I could perceive of divine Understanding; but then upon looking back, and considering what I had heard such and such Friends preach, which at that Time I did not understand, but now I understood it clearly, which was a plain Demonstration to me, that all divine Knowledge is from divine Light, which we can't comprehend, until we are assisted so to do by a Visitation from Heaven.

And now the Scriptures, and Ministry from the Openings of the Spirit, seemed so clear and plain to my Understanding, that I wondered that any Body remained unconvinced, supposing them to see the Truths of the Gospel in the same Light that I did; and that Saying of the Apostle, * wherein he asserts his Knowledge of the Son of God being come, from *their receiving an Understanding from him*, was clearly discovered to me, so that now I plainly saw a Distinction between the Children of Light, and of this World; the spiritual, and the natural Man; and that the natural Man could not receive the Things of the Spirit of God, being Foolishness to him; he can't know them, because they are known *only by the Spirit*, as the Apostle asserts; ‡ and I found myself much improved in divine Wisdom and saving Knowledge. As I was going to Meeting walking alone, it came very livingly into my Mind, that if I was but faithful and obedient to the heavenly Vision, I should soon be qualified to teach others, and more especially, as I saw by Experience wherein my shortness had

* 1 John v. 20. ‡ 1 Corinthians ii. 14.

been, in being contented and easy with a Form of Truth and Religion, which I had only by Education, being brought up in Plainness of both Habit and Speech; but all this, though very good in its Place, did not make me a *true Christian*; I was but a *traditional Quaker*, and that by Education only, and not from the Scriptures, because they were a Book sealed to me. And I now saw plainly that Education, though never so carefully administred, would not do the Work; although a pious Education ought by no Means to be neglected, but all Parents and Guardians ought to be stirred up to their Duty in that Respect; yet we must consider, that it is not in the Power of Parents, or the most pious Tutors to confer Grace, which is the Gift of God alone; nor can any come into the true Fold but by *this Door*, as said our Saviour † concerning himself. Thus it plainly appeared to me, there was no other Way but this, *viz.* by the *Spirit of Christ alone*, to attain to true Faith, which works by Love, and give Victory over our Infirmities and evil Deeds, working such a Change in us, that we can in Truth from Experience say, *we are born from above*, ¶ and by Virtue of that Birth only, is the *true Knowledge* of the Kingdom, and the Things of God *attained*, and by no other Way or Means, although never so well contriv'd by human Art: And being experimentally sensible of this Change wrought in my Mind, it look'd the more likely that I might in Time be qualified to speak to others of my own Experience

† John x. 1, 2, 3. ¶ John iii. 3, 4, 5.

ence of the Operation of the Spirit, in my Mind, not thinking the Time so near at Hand, as it appeared when I came to the Meeting; for I had not sat long therein, but a great Weight fell upon me, with some Words to speak; but I consider'd, (being willing to be my own Carver) it was too soon to undertake such a Task, being but an Infant in Religion; not remembring the small Time between *Paul*'s Conversion * and his preaching the Gospel: And my former Conduct with my Companions, (many of whom were in the Meeting at the same Time) stood much in my Way, for my Reformation was but three Weeks old that very Day, so that I reason'd thus, *that so sudden a Change would hardly be borne*: I could not for that Time, for these Reasons give up, and the Burden was then taken from me: But after that Meeting it came upon me again with double Weight, and affected me so very greatly that I was much alone, and my Countenance so altered with Weeping, that my Master took Occasion to enquire into the Matter, *how it was with me?* And I gave him as plain Account as I was capable of, which he was much affected with indeed, and broke into Tears: What I feared was, that I had by Disobedience so much offended, that I should be cast off for ever: But with sundry Exhortations from Scripture and otherwise, he endeavoured to pacify me, not doubting but that I should have the like Offer made me, putting me in Mind of *Gideon*'s Fleece, ‡ *&c.* When next Meeting-day came, I went in great Weakness

* Acts ix. 20. ‡ Judges vi.

and Fear, and could rather have gone elſewhere, than to Meeting that Day; however, ſome Time after I was in the Meeting, I felt the ſame Concern as at the Meeting before, and I ſat under the Weight of it till the Meeting was almoſt over, and then hardly knew how I got upon my Feet, but did, and broke out with a loud Voice in theſe Words, *viz.* 'Fear 'not them which kill the Body, but are not able to 'kill the Soul; but rather fear him which is able to 'deſtroy both Body and Soul in Hell. I ſay, fear 'you him who will terribly ſhake the Earth, that all 'which is moveable may be ſhaken and removed 'out of the Way, that that which is immoveable 'may ſtand.' This was all I had to ſay at that Time. But oh! what Joy and Sweetneſs I felt afterward I can't expreſs, and the Pleaſure of my Mind appeared in my Countenance, ſo that my Maſter took Notice, and ſpoke of it ſo feelingly, that plainly demonſtrated he was a Partaker with me of the ſame Rejoicing in himſelf, as at the Birth of an only Son: This was about the Year 1696, on that called *Chriſtmas-day*, it falling that Year upon the Firſt-day of the Week.

Thus having (as it may be ſaid,) broke the Ice, the next Time was not quite ſo hard, but I ſaid very little, and ſeldom appeared for a Year or two, having about three Years of my Apprenticeſhip to ſerve, which I did with Fidelity and Truth. The laſt Year of my Time, I found ſome conſiderable working in my Mind to viſit *Scotland*, being very rarely without ſome Degree of divine Virtue on my Mind, either by Night or Day; therefore I thought, if it was ſo with me then, it would be much more ſo when

when I had nothing to mind but divine Things; but I found it otherwiſe, of which in its Place. I may not omit, that ſometime above two Years after I firſt ſpoke in Meetings, I open'd the New-Teſtament at that Paſſage ſpoken of by our Saviour, *Mat.* x. 28. to the ſame Effect with what was firſt open'd on my Mind, as mention'd above, which then I knew nothing of, as being the Sayings of Chriſt to warn them againſt the Fear of Men; altho' no doubt I had read it, but had taken ſo little Notice of what I read, it was to me as if it had been never writ. But it was a great Comfort to me, that I was thus opened in a material Point of Doctrine of our bleſſed Lord at my firſt ſetting out.

About this Time I had a Deſire to viſit a neighbouring Meeting called *Yelland*, it being the firſt that I ever had a Concern to viſit, and deſired my dear Friend *Iſaac Alexander*, to go with me. Agreeing upon the Time, I went to *Iſaac*'s Brother's Houſe the *Seventh-day* Evening before, where *Iſaac* lived; and he and I went to viſit *James Wilſon* and his Parents that Evening: *James* was under Convincement, but not his Parents. We had ſome Conference, but being called to Supper, left off abruptly. After Supper I could not be eaſy without repeating my Viſit, and *James*'s Mother being very quick in the Scriptures, ſhe deſired my Judgment on thoſe Texts in *Iſaiah* and *Peter*; *Behold, I create new Heavens, and new Earth, wherein dwells Righteouſneſs.* And my Underſtanding was opened to preach unto her the new Birth ſo effectually, that ſhe was thoroughly convinced, and continued an honeſt Friend to her

to her dying Day, going to Meeting the very next Day, and ſo held on while able to attend Meetings.

Now my Time of Servitude being near at an End, and my Maſter being very willing to keep me in his Service, ſpoke to me about it, which gave me an Opportunity to open my Mind to him about my Viſit to *Scotland*; and he then told me, to acquaint ſome of the Elders in the Meeting therewith, for it was needful that I ſhould have a Certificate, to ſhew the Unity of the Brethren with my Journey; and accordingly I did, and had a Certificate: *Iſaac Alexander* was my Companion, and had a Certificate likewiſe. So we ſet out; *Kendal* being the firſt Meeting, and then to *Preſton*, *Yelland*, *Height*, *Hawkeſhead*, and viſited Part of *Lancaſhire*, and *Yorkſhire*, in about three or four Weeks. But the Poverty of my Spirit was ſo exceeding great and bitter, that I could ſcarcely bear it, but cried out aloud, and it was ſo ſurprizing to my Companion, that we being by ourſelves walking on Foot, he feared it would be too hard for me, for I complained that I was *deceived* or *miſtaken*; becauſe, while I was in my Maſter's Work, I rarely by Night or Day was without ſome Degree of divine Virtue on my Mind, but now I could feel nothing but the Bitterneſs of Death and Darkneſs; all Comfort was hid from me for a Time, and I was baptiſed into Death indeed. As we went along, I ſaid to *Iſaac* with a Vehemency of Spirit. *Oh! that I was in my Maſter's Work again, and favoured with my former Enjoyments of divine Life, how acceptable it would be!* We came at our Journey's End, to one *Miles Birket*'s, who was more than uſually kind to us; but alas! he

he did not know my State and Poverty. Next Day we went to another Meeting at *Hawkeſhead*, it was a little better with me, but very poor; and ſo we performed our Journey in about a Month, and he returned to his Father's Houſe, and I to my Maſter *Parat*'s.

I being very loath to go to *Scotland*, having been proved with ſo much Poverty of Spirit, the Cup was ſo bitter I could hardly bear it; however, I kept my Mind to myſelf, and we ſet forward on Foot, viſiting Part of *Cumberland* in our Way, and I thought *Iſaac* had very fine Service, ſo much ſuperior to mine, that after him I was afraid to leſſen or hurt what Good he had done; and before him, I was afraid to ſtand in his Way. He was very much admired indeed, and ſome were convinced by his Miniſtry: We accompliſhed that Journey in about two Months Time. At our Return Hay-harveſt came on, and I went to Mowing, and on the Meeting-days went juſt where my Mind led me, and grew in my Miniſtry very much, and the Lord let me ſee his Kindneſs to lead me through that State of Poverty, which was of great Service to qualify me to ſpeak to others in the like Condition, and that Trials of ſundry Kinds were for my Improvement and Good, tending to my Eſtabliſhment in the true Root of a divine and ſpiritual Miniſtry; and the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apoſtles † did much comfort me, ſo that I became, in the Opinion of ſeveral, an able Miniſter, although but ſhort, ſeldom ſtanding a Quarter

† Matthew v. 3. Romans vii, 24.

Quarter of an Hour. But alas! I saw since that, I was but a meer Babe or Infant in the Work.

This Summer past over, and by my Harvest-work at Hay and Corn, I pick'd up a little Money, being just penny-less before, so that I travelled to a Meeting before I got to Work 14 or 15 Miles, three Times forth and back on foot all alone, with three Halfpence, being all the Money I had, and thinking to refresh myself in the Way, but when I came near the House of Entertainment, I found myself so strong and cheerful, that I thought I might want it more at another Time, and so kept it.

Towards the Fall I bought a Horse, and put myself in a Condition for another Journey with my old Companion *Isaac* again; and we thought either of us pretty sufficient to hold a Meeting; however, I was to go with him through *Bishoprick* and *Yorkshire*, and he was to go with me into the West, as to *Wilts*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, &c. We had not proceeded far, before I was very much shut up, and had no Satisfaction at all in going farther with him; I told him how it was with me, and we were both willing to part; and I went to be at *York* on *First-day*, and meeting with dear *John Richardson*, I laid my Concern before him, and as a nursing Father he spoke very encouragingly to me, and he got Meetings appointed for me at *Wetherby*, and so forward towards *Doncaster*. I went on in great Fear, and after Meeting at *Wetherby*, *Benjamin Brown* spoke very encouragingly, that *the Lord would enlarge my Gifts*; *and when thou findest it so*, said he, *don't value thyself upon it*, *but give the Honour of it where*

where it's due, and keep humble, and God will bleſs thee, and make thee a uſeful Member in his Hand. My next Meeting was at *Wakefield*, which was very much to my Comfort and Encouragement: Then to *Pontefract*, where I had no Cauſe to complain; but there was a Friend, that after Meeting did cavil and find a deal of Faults with what I had ſaid, which brought ſome Uneaſineſs upon me: But being afterwards told, *he uſed to do ſo*, and that *he was not in Unity*, that brought me off pretty light and eaſy; ſo I went from thence to *Doncaſter* on the *Seventh-day*, it being Market-day there: I was conducted to *Thomas Aldam*'s Quarters, he being in Town, who ſoon came and look'd at me, I thought *auſterely*, firſt enquiring *whence I came*, and if *I had a Certificate?* To all which I gave proper Anſwers, and ſhewed him my Certificate; all this ſeemed agreeable, and he undertook to appoint Meetings forward, and ſent me home with his Son: But not having ever been ſo cloſely examined before, this grew in my Mind, and fearing how I ſhould come off, *Thomas Aldam* being a noted Miniſter, it was ſome Uneaſineſs; but at laſt he came Home, and was very tender and kind indeed. Next Day, being *Firſt-day*, we repaired to Meeting, and I came off beyond what I expected by much, preached almoſt an Hour, ſo that I was very chearful in my Spirit after it, and we had a little Opportunity in the Evening, and all ended brave and well: So the Week following I went to *Blithe*, and took Meetings in courſe as they lay by *Maplebeck* to *Nottingham*. At *Maplebeck* there was a brave old living Friend, with whom I had great Comfort, his Name was *John Camm*:

Camm: At this Place I had the very beſt Meeting that I had ever had, and it had a very remarkable Effect upon me; for I began to think the Bitterneſs and Anguiſh of Death, which I had gone through before, might now be over in a great Degree, and I ſhould go on ſmoother and with more Eaſe for Time to come, for the Friends ſhewed me much Reſpect, and I was viſited in the Evening, and Morning before I left them, by ſundry that lived nigh: In ſhort, I thought more of myſelf than I had done before, that I remember. Two or three of them went with me to *Nottingham*, ſeeming much pleaſed with my Company; it being *Seventh-day*, I was there on *Firſt-day* at two Meetings, came off tolerable well, but not like as at *Maplebeck*. The *Third-day* following I was at *Caſtle-dunnington*, where was a fine Collection of Friends; I preach'd ſome Time amongſt them, but found not that Authority and Life, as I thought, to attend me as before; however, I deſired another Meeting with them that Evening, which was readily aſſented to, which was very large, conſidering that Place. I ſeemed very poor and low, and blamed myſelf much for appointing another Meeting in ſo poor and weak a Frame of Mind; the Meeting came on, and proved better than I expected: But I was very low, and it being a clear Moon-light Night, I walked into the Friend's Orchard behind his Houſe, bemoaning myſelf very much, as having loſt my Guide, and fallen from that happy Condition I was in the Week before: The Friend of the Houſe finding I tarried, came out to meet me, having a Senſe of my low State and Condition

dition, ſo that, enquiring how I did, he began to ſpeak very much in praiſe of thoſe two Meetings, and of the Service I had in them. But all this did not raiſe my Spirits: We went in, but he perceived I was very low, and he and his Wife endeavour'd to comfort me; his Wife had a fine Gift of the Miniſtry, and ſhe told me ſome Experiences ſhe had gone through, but all did not do, nor come near my Condition. Next Day I went to *Swannington* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and there was a fine Body of Friends again, and I had not ſat long, before I felt, as I thought, as good an Authority to preach as ever, and ſtood up, not doubting an open, ſatisfactory Meeting: But I had not ſtood above fifteen, if ſo many, Minutes, until all was ſhut up, and it ſeemed as though both the Sun and Air were darkened. I ſat down under a great Cloud, to think what I ſhould do, appealing to God, as having no ill Deſign, but much otherwiſe, and earneſtly in ſecret deſiring Help; and immediately, as though a Voice had ſpoken intelligibly, 'Thou runs, and God has not ſent 'thee; thou ſpeaks, but God don't ſpeak by thee; 'therefore thou ſhalt not profit the People.' It may be thought I was bad before, but much worſe now, I being under the very Hour and Power of Death and Darkneſs, being at my Wits-end what to do; and under this great Temptation divers Ways preſented, ſuch as my turning myſelf out of the Line of Friends, which I found would be ſomewhat hard to do, by reaſon I always had a Guide from one Place to another: Then to turn Home again, and by that Method I might get rid of Friends as Guides,

and

and make the beſt of my Way to ſome Port in *Ireland*, ſell my Horſe, and get Work (where I was not known) at my Trade: But then the Honour of the Monthly-meeting, that had given me ſo good a Certificate, would be affected by my ſo doing: And having conſidered of ſundry Ways to take, at laſt this preſented, to make away with myſelf in ſome River or Pond, as though it had been an Accident, and this would cover all. Thus for a Time I was bewildered, not ſeeing where I was; but ſince it plainly appeared I was under the Influence of the Spirit of *Antichriſt*. Thus begging heartily for Help, I fell on my Knees, and prayed with that Fervency, that few under the Roof but were melted into Tears, and it was ſuch a Time as I never had before nor ſince in Prayer, as I remember: Thus that Meeting ended. Next I went to a Town called *Hinckley*, and there was a conſiderable Number of Friends and other People; I was extremely low and poor, but had a comfortable Meeting, that much healed me, and ſet me to rights again.

Then I viſited *Leiceſterſhire* pretty generally, and there was a Woman of ſome Account (her Name was *Jemimah Mountney*) who was convinced, and ſhe was with me at ſundry Meetings, and was exceeding tender and loving, being throughly reached and ſatisfied. When we parted, ſhe was ſo open-hearted that I was called aſide by her, and after having ſaid ſomething to me about her inward Condition, ſhe offered me ſome Pieces of Gold, which I told her, I durſt not touch; ſhe very courteouſly, and with a becoming genteel Mein, told me, *ſhe was*

both

both able and willing, and as she had no other Way, that she could shew her Gratitude for that Spiritual Good she had received by my Ministry, she could do no less than that, beseeching *that I would receive it, as the true Token of her Love and Respect.* In answer, I said, *it was what I never had done, nor could I now do it; but all the Reward I desired and expected was, that she might carefully, with a sincere Heart, endeavour that her Obedience did keep pace with her Knowledge, the hearing of which would much rejoice my Soul:* We parted in great Love and Tenderness. I heard that sundry others were convinced in that Neighbourhood. A very honest Friend, whose Name was *Brooks*, took great Pains to get the seeking People to Meeting, and I was very much enlarged in pertinent Matter, suitable to the States of such seeking Souls.

Out of *Leicestershire*, being very well rewarded for the Bitterness I suffered before I came into it (which, as before, was as much as I could bear) I passed into *Warwickshire*, and had some good Opportunities in that Country, as at *Warwick* and sundry other Places. I found I often hurt myself by speaking too fast, and too loud, against which I endeavoured to guard as much as I could; but oft, when I felt my Heart filled with the Power of divine Love, I was apt to forget myself and break out; I found it proper therefore to stop, and after a short Pause, with some secret short Prayer for Preservation, and that I might be supplied with Matter and Power, that might do the Hearers good. Thus I went on, and grew sensibly in Experience and Judgment, and became in some small Degree skilful in dividing of the

Word. I had been ſtraitned in my Mind reſpecting ſearching the Scriptures, leſt I ſhould thereby be tempted to lean upon them, and by gathering either Manna or Sticks on the Sabbath-day, Death would enſue; but at laſt I had Freedom to examine the Text, and to conſider where the Strength of the Argument lay, both before and after the Words I had repeated: By which Conduct I ſaw I was often very defective, in not laying hold of the moſt ſuitable Part to confirm the Subject or Matter I was upon, and this Conduct did me great Service: But then another Difficulty ſtood in my Way, which was this; ſome former Openings would come up, which I durſt not meddle with, leſt that by ſo doing I ſhould become formal, and loſe that divine Spring which I had always depended upon; but the Lord was pleaſed to ſhew me, that old Matter, opened in new Life, was always new, and that it was the Renewings of the Spirit alone which made it new, and that the principal Thing I was to guard againſt was, not in my own Will to endeavour to bring in old Openings, without the Aid of the Spirit; and that if I ſtood ſingle and reſign'd to the divine Will, I ſhould be preſerved from all Errors of this Nature.

Out of *Warwickſhire* I travelled into *Worceſterſhire*, viſiting ſundry Meetings in that County, and found a freſh Supply every Day. I was at *Worceſter* on *Firſt-day*, and after the Meeting in the Forenoon, an ancient Friend examined me very cloſely, after Meeting was over, *from whence I came*, and *for a Certificate*; to all which I gave him Anſwers: My Certificate being at my Quarters in my Saddle-bag, he could

could not then see it; but I had a very good Meeting as I thought, and my Landlord *William Pardoe*, a brave sensible Elder, advised me not to be uneasy at the old Friend's examining me so, *for*, said he, *he does so to every Stranger*. We went to Meeting in the Afternoon, which was very large, and I was largely opened, and had, as I thought, very good Service; but the old Friend, after the Meeting, was upon me in the same Strain to see my Certificate, but I had it not then about me neither, at which he seemed much displeased: I made no Reply, but told him, I was very willing he should see it; but my Landlord took him up, and told him, *he thought the young Man had already shewn us his best Certificate in both the Meetings; but nevertheless* (said he) *come to my House in the Evening, and thou shalt see it:* So we parted. My Landlord thought he had shewed himself disagreeable in his Conduct, and fearing it would be an Uneasiness to me, spoke very tenderly, and like a nursing Father encouraged me, by saying *I could not shew him a better Confirmation that I was anointed for the Ministry, than I had already done.* So in the Evening, after it was dark, he and many other Friends came; but my Landlord, the old Friend and I, went aside, and I let him see what he desired so much to see; he read it, being much pleased with it, and knowing sundry Friends that had signed it, enquired after them. We went to our Friends again, who were much increased in Number, and we had a heavenly Season, being throughly baptized together: We parted in great

Love and Sweetneſs, and the old Friend was exceeding kind.

From thence I went into *Glouceſterſhire*, and viſited Part of that County, by *Tewkeſbury* to *Cheltenham*, *Glouceſter*, *Payneſwick*, *Nailſworth*, and *Tedbury*. I had ſundry good Opportunities: One young Woman was convinced at *Tedbury*, that became a very good Friend.

From thence into *Wiltſhire* and *Hampſhire*, as far as *Ringwood*, and to *Pool* and *Weymouth*; called at *Wareham* and *Corfe*, had a Meeting at each Place, but nothing worthy noting at either of them: So I travelled to *Bridport*, *Lyme*, *Membury*, *Chard* and *Crewkern*, and back to *Somerton*, *Puddimore*, *Maſſon* to a Funeral, and to *Yeovil* on *Firſt-day*; thus having viſited *Somerſetſhire*, I went away into *Devonſhire* as far as *Exeter*; then turned up towards *Taunton*, taking Meetings in my Way towards *Briſtol*, but nothing happened of Weight.

I ſtaid in *Briſtol*, and viſited Meetings about the City near five Weeks, and from thence I found my Mind was much drawn to viſit *Wales*, and I took the Quarterly-meeting of *Hereford* in my Way, which was held annually at *Amelly*, and there I met with my dear Friend *Iſaac Alexander*: We were glad to ſee each other, as well as to hear each other, which when we did, it appeared to me that *Iſaac* was improved conſiderably, and he ſaid the ſame of me, obſerving, that I preached the practical Doctrine of the Goſpel, he thought, more than he did; for his preaching was very much in Compariſons and Allegories, which he apprehended was not

not ſo plain and eaſy to the Underſtandings of the Vulgar, as what I had to ſay. We had now an Opportunity of opening our Minds to each other, which was of great Service to us both, having ſundry Meetings together, and we had Drawings for the Yearly-meeting at *Glanneedleſs* in *Wales:* This Opportunity ſeemed very agreeable to us; there were ſundry Friends of note, *Benjamin Bangs*, and others out of *Cheſhire*; the People came, in Abundance, and at Times were very rude, but in the main it was a ſerviceable Meeting. After that I viſited *Wales*, appointing from the Yearly-meeting ſundry Meetings, as far as was thought proper at once, and a good old Friend, *Philip Leonard*, offered to be my Companion, which was of great Service to me. I was very poor and low at moſt Meetings in that Journey, by reaſon but few of the People could well underſtand what I ſaid in ſundry Places: But *Philip* ſtood up after I had done, and in part interpreted what I had ſaid, but I did not ſeem to be quite eaſy in my Mind.

Iſaac went to *Briſtol* Yearly-meeting, and was very zealous againſt unneceſſary Faſhions and Superfluities in both Sexes, inſomuch, that ſome thought he did, in his Words againſt them, exceed the Bounds of Modeſty: But he might plead the Example of the Prophet *Iſaiah* in that reſpect*. But the chief Objection was, concerning his propheſying of a great Mortality, which the Lord was about to bring as a Judgment upon the People, for their Pride and Wickedneſs; which he thought it his

* Iſa. iii, 16. to the End.

Duty to deliver in their Yearly-meeting, as a Warning for all to mind their Ways, leſt being taken unprepared, their Loſs ſhould be irreparable: Which he did in ſuch ſtrong and poſitive Terms, that Friends were afraid he was too much exalted in himſelf: Upon which, ſome of the Elders thought proper to converſe with, and examine him concerning this extraordinary Meſſage which he had delivered: But what he ſaid to them, not being ſatisfactory, they adviſed him to proceed no farther on his Journey, but to return Home; which he did under great Trouble, and was there received in much Love and Tenderneſs, and appeared in his Gift very excellent, and grew in divine Wiſdom and Power, being of great Service in the Miniſtry wherever he came. And he having a Concern to viſit the Churches abroad, and acquainting ſome of our Elders therewith, they thought it not proper for him to go, till ſomething was done to ſatisfy the Friends of *Briſtol*; and upon their Enquiry of *Iſaac*, he gave them a ſingle and honeſt Account how it was with him at that Time, reſpecting his Concern: So Friends took it in hand, and wrote to *Briſtol*, neither juſtifying nor condemning him, but recommended Charity and Tenderneſs towards him. And from *Briſtol*, Friends anſwered, that *With open Arms they could receive him, believing him to be a ſincere young Man, who intended very well; and they were glad he took their Admonition right, and had owned it had been of Service to him.* Thus ended this Affair, and *Iſaac* ſaid, *he could not think hard of his Brethren in doing what they did, though he could not*

not then *see that he had missed his Way, in delivering that* Prophesy: Thus shewing forth a lively Instance of a warm Zeal, tempered with a due Regard to the Sense and Advice of his Brethren and Elders, and the Unity of the Church, which doubtless tended to his own Comfort and Preservation.

When I heard of it, I took it so much to heart, that it was almost too much for me, and a Concern came upon me to go to *London* with the like Message, but with this Caution; first, to advise with some faithful Brethren before I delivered it: And I wrote to *Isaac* to let him know it, which gave him great Ease. Accordingly I went to *London*, and got sundry Brethren together, *viz. James Dickinson, J. Bowstead, Peter Fearon, B. Bangs, Robert Haydock*, and some others, and gave them a plain and honest Account how it came upon me, which was not till after I heard how my dear Companion was returned Home from *Bristol*; adding, that I had acquainted *Isaac* how it was with me, that he might know my Sympathy with him, The Friends seeing what he had wrote, found there was a strong Sympathy between us, and very justly supposed, *that* to be the moving, if not only, Cause of the Concern I was under, and very tenderly advised me to keep it in my own Breast, till I found how the Lord would order it; for, if he was the Author, I should find more of it; if not, it would die of course: But if I found it grew upon me, I should let any of them know it, and they would consider what Steps to take in a Matter of so great Consequence, as going forth in a Prophesy of that Nature. And the fa-

therly Kindneſs they ſhewed me was very affecting to me, one or other of them making it their Buſineſs to viſit me every Day; and, as they ſaid, I found the Concern went off, and I became eaſy without publiſhing it.

After this I had divers very acceptable Opportunities in *London*, during the Time of the Yearly-meeting, and afterwards viſited Friends towards *Leeds* in *Yorkſhire*, and in my Way thither had very agreeable Service in both the Counties of *Leiceſter* and *Nottingham*, and at ſundry other Places.

From *Leeds* I went to the Yearly-meeting at *York*, which was very large, and many public Friends; but I was hid, as it were, and made very little Appearance at that Meeting.

From thence I travelled homewards, viſiting Friends as I went, and was gladly received by them. And I found my Miniſtry very acceptable; as it increaſed upon me, I was very humble and low in Mind, knowing therein my Strength conſiſted, and Safety from Temptation.

I was now in a Strait, what Courſe to take to get a little Money, my Linen and Woolen both wanting to be repaired, I met with a young Man newly ſet up in his Trade, with whom I propoſed to work, and he was ready to comply with my Offer, ſuppoſing it would be a Means to improve him: So we agreed, and I begun with him, and found it anſwered much better than Harveſt-work, ſo that I ſtored myſelf with a little Caſh ſoon, and worked hard all that Summer, and in the Fall of the Year prepared myſelf for a Journey with my good old Friend *Joſeph Baines*. We

We ſet out the latter End of the *Sixth Month*, and viſited ſome Parts of *Yorkſhire*, and ſo into *Lincolnſhire*, *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, and we did very well together; only I was afraid, that Friends took ſo much Notice of me, he would be uneaſy; but he was ſo entirely innocent, and had ſo much of the Lamb in him, that he never did, that I could find, ſhew any Uneaſineſs, more than to give me a Caution with a Smile; *Sammy*, ſaid he, (for I was moſtly called ſo) *thou hadſt need take care, Friends admire thee ſo much, thou doſt not grow proud*; and indeed the Caution was very ſeaſonable, as well as ſerviceable to me; which I ſaw and did acknowledge. This *Joſeph* was (it might be ſaid) an *Iſraelite* indeed, as meek as a Lamb, not great in the Miniſtry, but very acceptable, eſpecially amongſt other People, having a meek, quiet, eaſy Delivery, moſtly in Scripture Phraſes, with which he was well furniſhed, repeating them with very little or no Comment upon them, which ſome admired very much; and he had great Service at Funerals, being in a peculiar Manner qualified for ſuch Services: But he receiving an Account of ſome Troubles in his Family, it brought a very great Uneaſineſs upon him, and he returned Home. But I viſited moſt of the Meetings over again, and ſo I returned into *Huntingtonſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and ſo towards *Dorſetſhire*, and *Somerſetſhire*, viſiting Meetings as I went through Part of *Oxfordſhire*. I had many Meetings, ſometimes fourteen in a Week, and generally to Satisfaction. In almoſt every Pariſh where a Friend lived, we had a Meeting, beſides which

ſundry

ſundry offered their Houſes, who were not Friends, which we embraced. I came through Part of *Hampſhire* and *Warwickſhire*, and ſo back again to *Hampſhire*, viſiting Friends, and had many Meetings in Places where none had been, and the People were much inclined, who were not Friends, to have Meetings at their Houſes in many Places, and would deſire Friends to conduct me to their Houſes: So that although I was entirely unknown to moſt, yet there was very great Willingneſs to receive the Doctrine of Chriſt; and ſundry, I found afterwards, were convinced, by Accounts I received from Friends. The Teachers of the national Way, and Diſſenters alſo, were much diſturbed, and threatned what they would do, and that they would come and diſpute; and ſome of them came ſeveral Times, and got out of Sight, where they could hear and not be ſeen; but never any gave me the leaſt Diſturbance all that Journey; but ſome would ſay I was *a Cheat* (viz.) *a Jeſuit* in diſguiſe; others, that I was brought up for the Pulpit, and for ſome Miſdemeanor ſuſpended; and ſo they varied, according to their Imaginations: But I was very eaſy in my Service, and found my Heart very much enlarged; ſome of the People took me to have a good Share of Learning, which, although it was falſe, ſerved for a Defence againſt ſome buſy Fellows, who thought they could diſpute about Religion and Doctrine, which I always endeavoured to avoid as much as poſſible, ſeldom finding any Advantage by ſuch Work, but that it moſtly ended in cavilling, and a Strife of Words.

I went

I went through Part of *Dorſetſhire*, and at *Sherborne* an old Friend was ſick, and not expected to get over that Illneſs, and it came into my Mind *he would die of that Sickneſs*, and that *I muſt be at his Funeral, and preach with my Bible in my Hand.* This made me ſhrink, as fearing it was the Fruit of Imagination, but I kept it to myſelf, and had many Meetings about thoſe Parts, as at *Yeovile*, *Puddimore*, *Maſſon*, *Weſton*, &c. Beſides this, a young Woman, which afterwards became my Wife, had ſtrong hold of my Affections, and I had acquainted her Parents therewith, and had Liberty from them to lay it before their Daughter, which I did; although at the ſame Time it was upon me to viſit *America* before I entered into the State of Wedlock, which I alſo gave her to underſtand; for I had reaſoned in my own Mind, that it might be better to let it reſt until my Return, if I lived; but in anſwer to that, thus it appeared, that I might have ſome Offers there that might be a Snare to me, and by this prior Engagement I might be freed from all Temptations or Offers of that kind; for if it once was known there, that I was already engaged, even that would command Silence on that Account; ſo on this Conſideration I made my Suit to her, who received it with ſuch Modeſty and Sweetneſs as was very engaging and obliging to me: But ſhe had an Uncle, on whom ſhe had ſome Dependance, who ſeemed much averſe to it, and would have his Niece left at Liberty, that if any Thing offered in my Abſence ſhe might embrace it; which I very readily complied with; then he was pleaſed, only he would

would have me leave it under my Hand, which alſo I was very ready to do; and more, that is, to ſtand bound myſelf, and leave her at Liberty: To which ſhe objected, as *unreaſonable* on her Part to deſire ſuch a Thing from me. So we parted, and I went to *Street*, *Glaſtonbury*, *Burnham*, *Sidcoat*, *Clareham*, and *Briſtol*, having let ſlip out of my Memory the old Friend's Sickneſs at *Sherborne*; but I had not been many Hours in *Briſtol* before a Meſſenger came to deſire *Benjamin Coole* to attend the Funeral, and *Benjamin* came to me to *Brice Webb*'s, where I lodged, and told me how it was, and deſired me to go; but I pleaded ſundry Excuſes, firſt, my Horſe was not fit, with other Objections, which were all removed. And accordingly I went to *Bruton* next Day, being the *Seventh-day* of the Week, and was at that ſmall Meeting on *Firſt-day*. The Funeral was on *Second-day*, which was exceeding large, *John Beere* from *Weymouth* being there, had ſomething to ſay, but not much: Then, as it was with me, I pulled my Bible out of my Pocket, and opened it; upon which the People gave more Attention than they had done before, and I had a very acceptable Time, often in the Courſe of my Matter referring to the Text for Proof, and giving an ample Teſtimony of the Value we put upon the Scriptures, earneſtly preſſing the careful reading of them, and adviſing to conſider what they read, and to ſeek the Lord, by Prayer, for Aſſiſtance and Power, that they might practice what they read, which was the ultimate End of reading, as well as the hearing of Preaching, for without

without Practice, it would avail but little; with other Advice to the ſame Effect. And there being ſundry Teachers of ſeveral Societies, one of them a *Baptiſt*, took hold of me after Meeting was ended, and deſired ſome Converſation with me: I looked at him earneſtly, and deſired to know if he had any Objection againſt any Part of what I had ſaid? if thou haſt, ſaid I, (ſpeaking with an audible Voice, that ſtopt many of the Company) this is the moſt proper Place, the People being preſent; for they thronged about us very much: This made him confeſs, that what he had heard was ſound, and according to Scripture, being very well proved from the Text; but he deſired ſome private Diſcourſe between ourſelves at my Quarters, if I would permit it. I told him he might, I quartered at *Richard Fry*'s; and *Richard* being preſent, told him he ſhould be welcome to come to his Houſe, and ſo we parted: And when I came to *Richard*'s, he ſaid, we ſhould hear no more of him, for that he had in his Diſcourſes amongſt his Hearers, ſpoken many very unhandſome Things againſt the *Quakers*, endeavouring to unchriſtian them, and prove them *Heathens* in denying the Ordinances: (A common Plea uſed by all our Adverſaries) But this Upſtart carried the Matter farther than ſome others did, by adding, that we denied the Scriptures, and alſo would not allow of a Bible in any of our Meetings, nor did our Preachers ever uſe a Bible to prove any thing therefrom, that we preached to the People; (with more to the ſame Purport) and as many of his Hearers were there, my appearing with a Bible,

Bible, and so often referring to the Text for Proof, did no doubt put him and them also upon a Thought, what had been preached before by him, amongst them, concerning the *Quakers*, which now appeared to be a manifest Untruth by what they had both seen and heard that Day: However, to be short, as *Richard Fry* thought, so it proved; for he did not come at all near me, and so that went off well, and Truth was exalted above Lies and Falshood.

I returned back to *Bristol* well contented, being filled with Peace and Consolation. At my Return I gave my Friends *Benjamin Coole*, and some others, a Relation of my Conduct, and *Benjamin* was much pleased I went there, and repeated what he had said before to perswade me to go, adding, he was pretty much assured it was my Place to go; but that if he had known how it came into my Mind to preach with the Book in my Hand, although in the Sequel it proved right, yet he should have been afraid that more of Imagination than Revelation was in it; therefore that would rather have backened him, than have been any Argument for him to have pressed my going so much as he did, by reason that he had found some Mistakes committed from such Sights, which proved to be but Imaginations: And he gave me very suitable Advice, to take care how I too easily embraced such Things for Truth, without a due Trial, and that it was not displeasing to Heaven, *to try the Spirit from whence such Things proceeded.*

I staid in and about *Bristol* three Weeks, visiting the Meetings round the City, but on *First-days* I

was

was mostly in the City, and it being the Winter Fair, Meetings were very large: But on the *Third-day* Meeting in the Fair Week, there was a Man out of *Wiltshire*, a Separate, named *Arthur Ismead*, who stood up to preach, and was speaking of the Light: He put forth a Question about *bringing our Deeds to the Light*; adding, *do I bring my Deeds to the Light?* A worthy Elder, named *Charles Harford*, answered, *No, thou dost not: If thou didst, thou wouldst not do as thou dost.* I sat all this Time under a very great Concern, and the Word was in me like Fire; so I stood up, and with a strong and powerful Voice began to preach, he crying out, *that he had not done*; but I took no Account of that, but went on, and he soon sat down and fell asleep, and we had a blessed edifying Meeting that Day, and Truth was exalted above Error. After this Meeting I was clear of the City, and visited some Parts of *Gloucestershire*, *Worcestershire*, *Darbyshire*, *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, but nothing happened worthy of any great note, save only, in many Places I had very large open quiet Meetings, and when I found myself very high and full, I then expected low Times again, for I but very seldom was drawn forth in Doctrine, and enlarged more than common, but *Maplebeck* would come in my Way, and the uncommon Temptation and Trial I underwent after that Meeting, which did not arrive to its Height until I came to *Swannington* in *Leicestershire*, as is before hinted. I reached Home about the latter End of the *First Month*, and staid with my dear Friend *Robert Chambers* Part of that Summer, helping

ing him and his Brother-in-Law *John Moore* at *Gale*, mowing more Days this Year than I ever did in one before. But *John Bowſtead* and *Peter Fearon* had a Meeting appointed for them at a Place called *Gooſe-green*, between *Kendal* and *Millthrop*, to which Meeting there was a very great Reſort; and being deſired to attend it, I did, and in the Beginning of the Meeting I ſpoke ſomething of the *univerſal Love of God to Mankind*. After which a Friend went on with the ſame Subject, and inferred from the Text ſomething more than it would bear, ſo that a young Man who taught School at *Beatham*, (a ſmall Pariſh in that Neighbourhood) took him up after the Meeting was over, and having the Advantage of the Argument, did endeavour to bear the Friend down. I was with ſome others gone to ſee the Horſes got ready for our Return, but being called, got with Difficulty into the Houſe, which was much crowded, (the Meeting being held in the open Ground without the Houſe) and when got in and heard them, I ſoon found where the Pinch was; the Friend had ſaid what the Text would not bear him out in, in quoting *Obadiah* the 10th Verſe, compared with *Romans* the 9th Chapter and 11th Verſe: I obſerved that he went too far in Expreſſion, when I heard it, and repeating the Words more than twice, the young Man had them very plain. I waited ſome Time, and then deſired Liberty of the young Man to aſk him a Queſtion, the anſwering of which might bring the Argument to a Point; adding, not that I thought myſelf ſo capable to maintain that Argument as my Friend was. He

gave

gave me Leave, and my Queſtion was, *Whether he believed it conſiſtent with divine Wiſdom and Mercy, to puniſh Men for ſuch Faults, as by his Argument they were ordained to be guilty of,* which *becauſe of that Ordination they could not avoid?* He ſoon very frankly gave Anſwer, *He did not believe it.* I then aſked him, *Why he argued againſt his own Faith and Judgment?* For although he took Advantage of my Friend's Words, not being ſo well guarded as they might have been, yet that was no juſt Ground to argue againſt his own Judgment. And thus this Argument dropt, and then he took up *Baptiſm*, but ſoon finding himſelf not able to ſupport what he undertook to prove by the Text, *viz. Infant-Baptiſm*, he confeſt that he was not qualified to maintain his Argument, and therefore requeſted that we would favour him to confer on that Subject on *Wedneſday* next, in the Room where he taught School, with the Miniſter of their Pariſh; withal adding, *it might be of Service both to him and others.* My Friends were very much for it, and I was not againſt it, provided they would go and aſſiſt: For I looked on myſelf very unequal to ſuch a Taſk as this was like to be. However, after ſome Diſcourſe betwixt ourſelves, I conſented, on Condition that *John Jopſon* the School-maſter of *Kendal* would be my Second, he being well acquainted with, and underſtanding both the *Greek* and *Latin* Teſtament, might help me againſt being impoſed upon by any falſe Gloſs or Interpretation put upon the Text to prove their Arguments: So we told the young Man we would endeavour to anſwer his Requeſt, by

being with him on *Fourth-day* by Nine in the Morning; he was glad to be discharged for the present, for I had not seen one sweat more freely than he did, being in a very great Agony, he could not forbear shaking as he stood by the Table: And thus we parted for this Time very good Friends. But I grew uneasy, fearing how it would End, and blamed my Friends for bringing me into this Scrape, and not assisting in it, but leaving me to dispute with I knew not who; but all I got was, that they doubted not but I should be assisted to come off well, of which I was very doubtful, and it hindered me of some Hours Sleep.

When the Time came, my Friend *John Jopson*, and two more, went with me; we came pretty early, rather before than after the Time appointed; and the young Man had got his Room, and two Elbow-Chairs ready, for the Parson and myself, but I was not willing to sit in either, being younger than Friend *Jopson*; but to avoid Words about it, I sat down in one; the young Man acquainted the Parson we were come, and he came to us, scraping and bowing, and the more we supposed, because he saw we did not answer him in the same Way. After he sat down, previous to what we met about, he would needs have it, that I challenged a Dispute with him; to which I could not agree: But referring myself to the young Man, I desired that he would inform his Neighbour of the true Cause of our coming there; which he did very handsomely, to the Effect following, in very decent Language, *viz.* '*Sir*, Meeting last Sabbath-day with this Gentleman,

'tleman, we fell into a Conference about *Infant-Baptism*, supposing that I was able from Scripture 'to prove *that* Practice; but on Trial, finding my-'self not able to hold the Argument, shut it up: 'Therefore being perswaded, and believing you, '*Sir*, to be infinitely more able to defend the Prac-'tice of our Church, than I was, I desired this 'Gentleman to favour me so much, as to come and 'confer with you, *Sir*, on this Subject, in my 'hearing, that I might have this Matter set in a 'true Light; and I beg your Pardon, *Sir*, hoping 'that this modest Request to the Gentleman is not 'offensive to you, and I will assure you, it is a 'great Pleasure to me.' Thus having made his Apology, the Priest, being a hasty passionate Man, began; *You* Quakers *are not fit to be disputed with, because that you deny the* Scriptures, *the* Ordinances *of* Baptism, *and the* Supper of our Lord.

I addressed myself to the young Man, to inform the Parson that *Infant-Baptism* (so called) was the present Point to be considered; which he did in a few Words, and very well, but it was to no Purpose: The Priest would go on in his own Way, calling us *Hereticks*, *Schismaticks*, *Heathens*, and what not, bestowing freely such Reflections upon us as came into his Head; and having gone on in this rambling Way for some Time with his unbecoming Language, I requested, that he would hear me without Interruption as I had him; and then I put him in Mind of his old Age, (he having a comely Personage, and fine white Locks) and that he had more Experience, it might with Reason be sup-

poſed, than we young Men had; and ſuppoſing that thou mayſt be right, and that we may be in Error, yet for all this, in my Opinion, thou muſt be wrong in thy Conduct towards us, in being ſo liberal to give us hard Names, and ſhew no Reaſon for thy ſo doing. Here I was broke in upon with a kind of Violence, *That all the Diſciples and Apoſtles had a Commiſſion to teach all Nations, baptizing them* in *the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt.* Do you confute this or own it? I urged, *No Water* is named in that Text; and beſides, that Text ſhould be rendered, *into* the Name of the Father, Son, *&c.*

Here the young Man, and my Friend *Jopſon*, ſearched both the *Latin* and *Greek*, agreeing that it was more proper to render it *into the Name*, than *in the Name*, &c. Then, if that was right, as it was my Opinion it was, it was plain to me, that the Materials of that Baptiſm could not be *elementary Water*, therefore I could ſee nothing in this Text to prove the Practice of *ſprinkling* Infants, or *Infant-Baptiſm.* Here I was interrupted with great Warmth again: The Parſon urging, that *the Diſciples, primitive Miniſters, and Apoſtles, all had a Commiſſion in* Matthew xxviii. *which by Succeſſion was to continue to the End of the World; and this Baptiſm was with* Water, *for the Apoſtles could not baptize with the* Holy Ghoſt. In Anſwer I ſaid, When *Peter*, at the Houſe of *Cornelius*, * *began to ſpeak*, (as appears by his own Account) *the Holy Ghoſt fell on them, as on us at the Beginning*, ſaid *Peter*; from which it is plain, that Teaching by Direction of the Spirit being *prior* to Baptiſm, the Baptiſm of the Holy Ghoſt

* Acts xi. 15.

Ghoſt was the Conſequence of ſuch Teaching. But this did not pleaſe the Parſon; but he in Anſwer ſaid, *That undoubtedly the Commiſſion in* Mat. xxviii. *was Water, it could be* nothing elſe: *What are you wiſer than all our Forefathers, who have underſtood, ever ſince the firſt Miniſters, this Text to mean no other but Water? accordingly we have ſo practiſed.* I queried, if he thought the Text meant outward elementary Water? He ſaid, *he did.* I deſired to know his Reaſon for ſo believing. He anſwered, *The Practice of the Apoſtles in purſuance of that Commiſſion which all had.* I then queried, if he thought *Paul* was included in that Commiſſion? He granted *that he was, and by Virtue of his Commiſſion he baptized many.* But I deſired they would turn to the Text, 1 *Cor.* i. 17. where the Apoſtle plainly ſays, *Chriſt ſent him not to baptize, but to preach the Goſpel*; and in the foregoing Verſes he thanks God, *he baptized no more*, &c. Beſides, allowing that they did baptize with (or more properly in) Water, yet this argues nothing in proof of *ſprinkling*, nor is there any, either Precept or Precedent for it, in all the Bible. At this the Parſon ſtood up in a Paſſion, told us we were *no* Chriſtians, *nor fit to be converſed with as ſuch*, and left us in a Rage without any Ceremony.

Now the young Man acknowledged, that the Miniſter (as he ſtiled him) was not able to defend his own Practice from Scripture, and deſired that we would lend him ſome Books treating on that Subject, and others, in which we differed from them and other Diſſenters in Point of Religion.

We agreed to let him have *W. Penn*'s Key, *R. Barclay*'s Apology, and ſome others, upon applying himſelf for them to *John Jopſon*, his Brother School-maſter. He was thoroughly convinced, and likely to make a good Man; he had ſeveral Enemies, amongſt which the Parſon was not the leaſt: But he ſhortly after this ſickened and died.

And now to return; I was very diligent in following the Harveſt Work, both at mowing and reaping, and diligently obſerving my Gift, to attend ſuch Meetings as I was inclined to; and I found I grew in my Gift, that I could ſee and diſcern myſelf: But then I would check myſelf for ſuch Thoughts, ſeeing them by no means proper to have a Place in my Heart, leſt that Humility, which is the Ornament of every Goſpel Miniſter, ſhould be departed from thorough Self-Love and Conceit, by which I might be brought to have a better Opinion of myſelf than any of my Neighbours had; which, if given way to, would eat out all that Reſpect that my Brethren and the Church had for me; and by this fooliſh Pride and Conceit, the Hearts of Friends would be ſhut againſt me, and I ſhould loſe my Place and Intereſt in them.

Now I had but one Journey more to make into *Scotland*, before my going, (or at leaſt intending to go) into *America*, of which in its Place.

An

An ACCOUNT *of my* JOURNEY *into* Scotland, *in the* WORK *of the* MINISTRY, *begun the* 11*th of the* Eighth Month 1701.

I Had for my Companion in this Journey, a young Man who had a fine Gift, his Name was *Isaac Thompson:* We visited sundry Meetings in our Way to *Carlisle*, finding our Understandings much enlarged in the Openings of divine Truths, and our Service grew upon us, and we went on with Boldness and chearful Minds, meeting in our Way with our dear and worthy Friend *James Dickenson*, who was intending a Visit into *Ireland:* And in our Journey from the Border to *Dumfries*, we had very profitable Conversation of good Service to us both, because we, by reason of Youth, and want of Experience, were often very weak, and doubting whether we were right or not in the Work; so that this our dear Friend, by his tender and fatherly Care over us, and Advice to us, was of great Encouragement, in letting us know how weak and poor he often found himself; which so much answered my Condition, that it was as Marrow to my Bones. When we came to *Dumfries*, after we had taken some Refreshment at our Inn, *James* said to us, *Lads, I find a Concern to go into the Street, will you go with me?* For he thought it might only be to shew himself, and was desirous that we might go all together, being five in Number; so we walked forth, and the Inhabitants gazed upon us, for the *Quakers* were seldom seen in that Town so many

together; and several came after us, and *James* lifted up his Voice like a Trumpet among the People, who were very quiet and attentive. When he was clear, we retired back to our Inn, and divers followed us, who were very rude and wicked, but were not permitted to hurt us. We had sweet Comfort and Refreshment one in another at our Quarters. Next Morning we took Leave, and parted, he went for *Port-patrick*, and we visited the Meetings, though very small, until we came to *Hamilton*, where we were finely refreshed with a small Handful of living Friends; and so to *Glasgow*, where the People were rude, but something better than in Times past, not being so uncivil to us in the Streets; thence to *Kinneel*, *Lithgow*, and so over the Water on our Journey Northward, taking *Boroughstowness* and *Ury* in our Way to *Aberdeen* Quarterly-meeting, where we found Friends in a sweet Frame of Spirit, being in dear Unity one with another. We had sundry Meetings with them to our good Satisfaction, and had some other Meetings farther North, as at *Inverary*, *Killmuke*, *Aworthies*, &c. Then back to *Ury* by *Aberdeen*, taking our Journey to *Edinburgh*, visiting the small Meetings, and some other Places we inclined to visit in our Way thither; we had but one little Meeting there, and then went for *Kelso*, where we staid with them two Meetings on the First-day of the Week, and in the Evening Friends there laid before us the Desire they had for our going to *Jedburgh*, a Town about seven Miles from them, and not much out of our Way to *England*: We considered the Matter, but not the Exercise

ercise that might attend us in going there; so next Morning we went, and when we came to the Town, (*Samuel Robinson* being our Guide) the Landlord at the Inn would not give us Entertainment; but we went to another Inn, and the Landlord took us in, withal telling us, how indecently the Minister had railed against the *Quakers* the Day before, asserting they were the *Devil's Servants*, and that by his Assistance they did in their Preaching what was done, with very many vile Words; but observing one of his Hearers taking what he said in short-hand, he called out, charging him *not to write what he spoke at random against the* Quakers; with much more to the same Effect. However, we called for some Refreshment, but my Mind was under so much Concern, I could neither eat nor drink: We called to pay for what we had, and we gave the Landlord Charge of our Horses and Bags, whereby he suspected that we were going to preach; he took me by the Hand, and begg'd that we would not go into the Street, but preach in his House, and he would have his Family together, and they would hear us. I look'd steadily upon the poor Man, who trembled very much, telling him, *we thought it our Place and Duty to preach to the Inhabitants of the Town; and thinkest thou* (said I to him) *we shall be clear in the Sight of God* (whom we both fear and serve) *by preaching to thee and thy Family, what we are required to preach to the People in the Town?* The poor Man I found was smitten in himself, and his Countenance alter'd greatly, but he made this Reply; *Is this the Case, Sir?* I said *it was. Then*, said he,

go,

go, and God preserve and bless you; but I fear the Mob will pull down my House for letting you have Entertainment, and kill you for your good Will. I bid him *not fear*; for he whom we served was above the Devil, and that not a Hair of our Heads should be hurt without his Permission. He then seemed pacified to let us go, and followed at a Distance to see our Treatment.

The chief Street was very broad, with a considerable Ascent, and near the Head of the Ascent was a Place made to cry Things on, to which we then walked, where we paused a little, but I had nothing to do there at that Time; returning back to the Market-cross, which was at the Foot of the Hill, for that had an Ascent of three or four Steps, and a Place to sit on at the Top, where we sat down; but we had not sat long before a Man came to us with a Bunch of large Keys in his Hand, and took me by the Hand and said, I must go into the *Talbooth*, (meaning the Prison) I asked him, *for what?* He said, for Preaching. I told him, *we had not preach'd.* Ay! but quoth he, the Provost (meaning the Mayor) has ordered me to put you in the Tolbooth. *For what?* I again replied. I tell you for Preaching. I told him, *I did not know whether we should preach or not; but it was soon enough to make Prisoners of us when we did preach.* Ay! says he, I ken very weel that you'll preach by your Looks. Thus we argued the Matter, he endeavouring to pull me up, and I to keep my Place, and when he found I was not easily moved, he turned to my Companion, who likewise was unwilling to be confined, and then

then he went to *Samuel Robinſon*, our Guide, who was eaſily prevailed on to go; and the eaſier, for that he had been there but the Week before with two Friends, *viz. John Thomſon* and *Thomas Brathwaite*, both of our County of *Weſtmoreland*. By this Time we had a large Aſſembly, and *Samuel Robinſon* ſuppoſing we ſhould have a better Conveniency to preach to them in the Priſon, as the Friends afore-named had the Week before, we were conducted there, juſt by the Croſs where we held the Parly, and put in at the Door: But *Samuel Robinſon* ſoon ſaw his Miſtake, for the Week before the Windows of the Priſon were all open, nothing but the Iron Gates in the Way, the Windows being very large for the ſake of Air, but now all made dark, and were ſtrongly faſten'd up with Deals. We had been but a ſhort Time there, before a Meſſenger came to offer us Liberty, on Condition we would depart the Town without preaching; but we could make no ſuch Agreement with them, and ſo we told the Meſſenger. A little after he was gone, I wrote the following Lines to the Provoſt.

'IT is in my Mind to write theſe few Lines to 'thee, the Provoſt of this Town of *Jedburgh*, to 'let thee underſtand that our coming within thy 'Liberties, is not to diſturb the Peace of your 'Town, nor to preach falſe Doctrine or Hereſy (as 'is by your Teachers maliciouſly ſuggeſted, whoſe 'Intereſt it is, as they ſuppoſe, to make the People 'believe it) but in Obedience to our Lord Jeſus 'Chriſt, whoſe Servants we are, for he hath bought

'us

'us with his moſt precious Blood; and we are no
'more our own, but his that has bought us, whoſe
'Power is an unlimited Power, and all Power is
'limited by him, ſo his Power is not to be limited
'by any other Power; therefore we his Servants
'dare not limit ourſelves, or promiſe any Man we
'will do this, or we will do that, but commit our
'Cauſe to him, as his (the Lord's) Servants did of
'old, knowing that if we pleaſe him he can deliver
'us, but if not, we can make no Promiſe to any
'Man on this Account, becauſe we ourſelves know
'not what he has for us to do; and therefore we
'endeavour to ſtand clear from all Engagements,
'ready to do what he requires at our Hands. But
'I muſt tell thee, that the Manner of our Impriſon-
'ment looks very rigid and uncommon in theſe
'Times of Liberty, ſo far below a *Chriſtian*, that
'tis hardly humane, that we ſhould be here detain-
'ed as Evil-doers, before we are examined, or any
'Breach of Law appears againſt us. Doth your *Scotch*
'Law judge a Man before it hears him? if ſo, 'tis
'very unjuſt indeed, and looks very hard, that the
'King's Subjects may not have the Liberty to walk
'in your Streets as elſewhere, which was all we did,
'beſides ſitting down on the Market-croſs in a
'thoughtful Senſe of our Duty to God, not open-
'ing ourMouths but to him that violently forced us
'into Confinement; nor do we know that we ſhould
'have ſpoken to the People in a Way of Preaching
'at all: But that is the Work of our Maſter, and
'we muſt wait his Will and Time, to know both
'when and how to do it, therefore if thou thinkeſt

'to

'to keep us until we promise thee or any of thy 'Officers not to preach in your Streets, it will be 'long that we must abide here: Therefore I desire 'thee to take the Matter into a *Christian* Consideration, to do as thou wouldst be done unto, and 'give thyself Liberty to think for what End the Magistrate's Sword is put into thy Hand, that thou 'mayst use it right, least thou shouldest be found 'one of those that turn Justice backwards, so that 'Equity cannot enter. This is from one that wish-'eth thy Welfare and Salvation,

'SAMUEL BOWNAS.'

JEDBURGH Tolbooth, the 18th of the Ninth Month, 1701.

When I had writ this, it was very hard to perswade any one to carry it to the Provost, for now they were so affrighted about having any Thing to say or do with us, that they durst not appear to talk with us; and whether he had it or not, I cannot be cerain.

The next Day there was a Country Gentleman came into the Town, and sent his Servant to invite us to his House; to which we replied, *We knew not yet, when we should have our Liberty; but desired our Thanks might be returned to his Master, for that kind Invitation:* He replied, we should soon be at Liberty, for his Master was gone to the Provost; knowing they had no Pretence to keep us there. Accordingly in less than two Hours after, we were set at Liberty, and went to our Inn to refresh ourselves. The Town was very full of Country People, it being Market-day, and we went to the Market-cross, which was so much surrounded with People selling their

their Ware, that there was no Room for us, without great Damage to them: We therefore, after a ſhort Pauſe, walked up the Street to the Place before-named, and the Street and Balconies being filled with People, with the Saſhes and Caſements open, and crouded with Spectators, ſome computed the Number to be above 5000, but ſuch Gueſſes at Numbers are uncertain: But there I ſtood up (being above the People, both by the Advantage of the Ground, and the Place where I ſtood) and opened my Mouth, being full of the Power and Spirit of Grace, ſaying, 'Fear the Lord and keep his Commandments, who by his Servant ſaid, *I will put my Laws in their Minds, and write them in their Hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they ſhall be to me a People.* Now if you be obedient to this Law, you will do well, and thereby become the People of God; but if diſobedient, you will lie under his Wrath and Judgments.' With more, diſtinguiſhing between the Happineſs of them that obeyed, and the Unhappineſs of the Diſobedient. Then I ſtepped down, in Expectation that my Companion might ſay ſomewhat, but he was willing to be gone; and I was concerned to ſtep up again, and kneeling down, was fervently drawn forth in Prayer, but after I had begun, two Men came and took me by the Arms, and led me down the Street praying, and by the Time we came at the Foot of the Aſcent, I had done praying: After which I took a View of the People, who ſhewed great Reſpect indeed, but I was conveyed to the Priſon Door, where was a Centry of two Soldiers, who ſtood by and heard what I ſaid

to

to the Officers that brought me there, which was to this Effect: 'That the Day before I was forced 'in there againſt my Will, and contrary to Law, 'but that I would not now go there again, without 'firſt being examined by the Provoſt, or by their 'Prieſt and Elders of their Church, or other chief 'Officers in the Town, and if then any Thing did 'appear that I had broken any Law, or done ought 'worthy of Impriſonment, having a *Mittimus* ſetting 'forth my Crime, I would willingly ſuffer, and not 'refuſe going there; but without ſuch an Examination I refuſed to go there again, unleſs forced 'to it by Violence, and that, I hoped they would 'not be guilty of.' At which one of the Soldiers, taking his Muſket by the ſmall End, advancing the Butt, ſaid, *his Countryman had ſpoken right, and what he ſaid was according to Law and Juſtice, and ought to be obſerved as ſuch; and therefore if you will* (ſaid he) *take him before the Provoſt in order for Examination, you may; but if not, touch him that dare.* At this bold Attempt and Speech they both left me, and I was advanced above the People about ſix or ſeven Steps, and turning about to them, there being a little Square before the Door, ſurrounded with the Guard Chamber on one Side, the Tolbooth on the other, and a Wall facing the Street about four Feet high, I had a very good Opportunity to ſpeak to them, which I did, about a Quarter or near Half an Hour, and they were very quiet and civil. When I had done, and acknowledged the Soldier's Kindneſs and Civility towards me, who ſaid, *it was his Duty to do it*, I came down the Steps, the People crowding

crowding very close to see as well as hear me, but they divided soon, making a Lane for my Passage, shewing me considerable Respect in their Way: Some said, *You have dung them, Sir, you have dung them, Sir*; meaning thereby I had got the Victory. All was very quiet, save that one or more would have forced a Horse over us, but was prevented by the rest: Not the least Unhandsomeness appeared, save *that* amongst them. Retiring to our Inn I was full of Peace and Comfort.

By this Time the Day was much spent, and concluding to stay that Night, we ordered some Refreshment to be got for us, for I found myself in want of it: It was soon got ready, and we invited our Host to share with us, who willingly did, shewing his good liking to what had been said; adding, he never saw the People so struck, and give so good Attention; nor ever did he see so large a Multitude that heard all so intelligibly down to the very Foot of the Hill, which was, as he supposed, not much less than Two Hundred Yards in length, and I took, by Computation, the Street to be upwards of Thirty Yards wide, and all that Space much crowded. I gave him a Hint of his Fear, putting him in Mind that our Duty, in preaching to that Multitude, could not possibly be discharged by preaching to him and his Family, and he acknowledged it was right in us to do as we did.

By this Time the Evening closed in, and sundry Gentlemen sent Word that they would gladly pay us a Visit, if we would permit it, and the Landlord, I saw, earnestly desired that we would, and he

he had a very large Room, into which we went, and they soon came to us, and quickly fell into Conversation (for they are very full of Talk about Religion, and very tenacious in their Opinions upon it.) The first Article of Dispute was, about *the Rule of Faith and Practice*; and this was argued (*pro* and *con*) between them and our Guide *Samuel Robinson*, near Half an Hour, who was a very sensible religious young Man, and had a good Share of Learning also; but I found they made nothing of it. Our Opponents would endeavour, in their Way, to make out the *Scriptures* to be the only Rule of Faith, and that the *Spirit* we professed to be guided by, must be *subordinate* to the Text. I hitherto had said nothing, but now desiring a few Words by way of Question, the answering of which might bring this Dispute to a Point; *I thought not*, said I, *that I should take the Argument from my Friend* Robinson, *whom I take to be more capable to support it than I am.* All were very willing to hear me; then I began to state the Difference between us, thus: *We all agree*, said I, *that the* Scriptures *is a Rule of Faith and Practice: Do we not?* this was granted. *The Difference lies here then, if I take it right, we say it's* a Rule; *you say, it's the* only Rule; *this is the Point in Dispute, is it not?* this was likewise granted me. Then I proceeded thus: *Allowing what you say to be true, it must be considered, that all instrumental Rules are made, whether they relate to spiritual or temporal Affairs, and must be contrived and adapted to answer the End for which they are made.* This was allowed also. *And as the Text is* a Rule

made, contrived and adapted for ſpiritual Affairs, who made it ſo? *ſince the Text could not make itſelf.* Here was a long Pauſe; at laſt one replied, *Holy Men writ as they were moved by the Holy Ghoſt.* Here was a Pauſe again; *And,* ſaid I, *is this your Mind?* It's the plain Words of the Text, ſaid another: *Granting this; then it muſt by your Acceſſion be allowed, that the* Spirit *gave forth or made the Scriptures, by the* Medium *of holy Men; therefore the* Spirit *gave forth the Text: Now judge you, whether a Rule made, or the Author that made that Rule, be* ſubordinate? There was a Pauſe for a little while, and one of the Company ſaid, *You are dung, you are dung,* (meaning they had loſt the Victory) *the Scriptures muſt be* ſubordinate *to the* Spirit *that gave them forth.* I replied thus, *We believe concerning the Text, that it is* a Rule, *and the beſt external Rule we have; but that the* Spirit, *which gave it us by the* Medium *of holy Men, is the* principal Rule *of Faith and Practice.* Thus this Debate ended, and they ſtarted another about *Baptiſm*; but that was ſoon ended. Our Friend *Robinſon* was an over Match for them by far, about it. Then they had a few Words about the *Bread* and *Wine:* That held but little Time, for they allowed theſe Ceremonies to be *external* Parts of Religion. Then they came to *Preaching,* and ſtated the Queſtion thus; *Our own Teachers, we know how they come by their Miniſtry, and by what Authority they preach:* (Meaning their Learning, and the laying on of the Hands, as they term it, of the Preſbytery at their Ordination, *&c.) But we want to know, how your Preachers*

come

come by their Miniſtry? And by what Authority they preach? Here, our Friend reaſoned with them ſome Time, but they either could not, or would not be convinced with his Words; ſo he told the Company plainly, *that he never did preach, and therefore would leave it to them that did, to give Account how they came by it themſelves.* I was, all the Time that they banded this Affair, under a great Concern, fearing how we might come off; but when *Samuel Robinſon* had laid the Matter ſo juſtly and fairly at our Door, there was ſo conſiderable a Space of Silence, that they expected nothing from us, but began other Diſcourſe, until I could no longer withhold; and beſpeaking their Silence and Attention, was willing to relate to them, *how I came by my Miniſtry*; at which, they all liſtened with cloſe Attention. Then I premiſed thus, as an Introduction before I came to the Matter itſelf, *Although in the Thread of my Diſcourſe, ſomething might appear liable to an Objection, I entreated the Favour of them all to hear me out, by reaſon what I might ſay afterwards would perhaps ſolve their Objections, without giving me or themſelves any Interruption.* Which, with one Voice, they all aſſented to, that it was a reaſonable and juſt Requeſt. Then I proceeded as follows,

'My Father was a *Cordwainer*, that lived by his 'ſmall Trade of making Shoes, who died before 'I was a Month old, and left my Mother a ſmall 'Patrimony to live on of about *Four Pounds* a Year, 'to keep herſelf, me, and one Son more, who was 'about Seven Years old when my Father died.

'My Mother gave me a religious Education in this 'same Way. When I was fit to go to School, I 'was sent there, until I was ten or eleven Years 'old, and then was taken from School and put to 'keep Sheep: My Earnings, though very small, 'giving some Assistance to my Mother, who had 'bound my Brother an Apprentice, I was kept 'close to attend the Flock when wanted, and af-'terwards put an Apprentice to a *Blacksmith*, still 'going to our own Meetings, but did not under-'stand the Rudiments of that Religion I was trained 'up in, but was addicted to the Pleasures of the 'Times; and when I went to Meeting, knew not 'how to employ my Thoughts, and often, yea, 'very often, the greatest Part of the Meeting (for 'want of a proper Employment of Thought) I 'spent in Sleeping; for the Preaching (which was 'pretty much) was what I did not understand: 'Thus two or three Years of my Apprenticeship I 'spent with very little Sense of God or Religion. 'But so it fell out, that a young Woman came to 'visit our Meeting, and in her Preaching, seemed 'to direct her Words to me, which were these, 'or to the same Effect; *A* traditional Quaker, *thou 'goes from the Meeting as thou comes to it; and thou 'comes to it, as thou went from it, having no Profit 'by doing so; but what wilt thou do in the End 'thereof?* These Words were so pat to my then 'State, that I was pricked to the very Heart, cry-'ing out in secret, *Lord! How shall I do to mend 'it? I would willingly do it if I knew how.* A Voice 'in my Breast replied, *Look unto me, and thou shalt*

'*find*

'*find Help.* From that Time forward I found it
'true, that what is to be known of God and true
'Religion, is revealed *within*; and relying on the
'Lord, who begun thus to reveal his Power in me,
'and let me see that I must depend on him for
'Strength and Salvation, the Scriptures seemed to
'be unsealed, and made clear to my Understand-
'ing; such as, *being born from above*, and that
'which is to be *known* of God, is made *manifest in*
'*us*; and also that Text which says, *The Kingdom*
'*of God is within**. The Lord opened my Under-
'standing by his Spirit, to see the proper Qualifi-
'cation and Call of true Ministers, that it was not
'external but *internal*, and the Heart must first be
'*sanctified*, before the divine Anointing could be
'expected. Thus for some Time I went on in
'my religious Duties with great Success, and I
'found I gained much in spiritual and divine Know-
'ledge: And as I was going to Meeting on that
'Day commonly called *Sunday*, it came into my
'Mind, that if I was watchful and obedient, care-
'fully minding to keep my Place, and to that Guide
'I was now acquainted with, I should be made *a*
'*Teacher of others:* I proceeded on my Way to
'Meeting, and being sat down therein, in a short
'Time I felt the Power of the Spirit strong upon
'me, *to speak a few Sentences:* But oh! the Rea-
'soning and Excuses that I formed in my weak
'Mind, that I might be spared from this Work
'some Time longer; and the Weight seemed to
'be taken from me for that Time. But oh! the
'Trouble and Uneasiness which I afterwards went

* Luke xvii. 21.

'through, made me enter into Covenant, that if 'ever the like Offer was made me, I would give up 'to the *heavenly Vision*. The Trouble of my Mind 'affected my Countenance so much, that it gave 'my Master (being of the same Way) Reason to 'examine me, *how it was?* I gave him a candid 'Account, withal adding, my Fear that my Offence 'was so great, I should be *rejected* as a Cast-away: 'But he comforted me, with urging various Ex-'amples of the like Kind, for my Encouragement, 'no way doubting, but that at the next Meeting 'the same Concern would come upon me, and to 'which he advised me to *give up*, with a sympathi-'zing Spirit of Love, in various and comfortable 'Exhortations confirmed by Scripture Examples: 'And as he had said, the next Meeting, before I 'had sat there an Hour and a Half, the same Con-'cern came upon me, which was this; (and I had 'now to deliver the same Words with the same 'Authority as I did when in that Meeting) *Fear 'not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill 'the Soul: But rather fear him who is able to destroy 'both Body and Soul in Hell.* I say, *Fear you him 'who will terribly shake the Earth, that all which is 'moveable may be shaken and removed out of the Way; 'and that which is immoveable may stand.* This was 'the first Appearance, in the Words aboveſaid, 'that I made in public, as *a Preacher:* By this Time I found, that the Power of the Gospel was over them, by their wiping of their Eyes, and I was assisted to go on with Strength of Argument and Demonstration, further adding, 'that then I

'had

'had near three Years of my Time to serve, which 'I did with great Faithfulness to my Master; and 'before the Time was expired, preaching a little 'at Times, but not very frequently, yet to the 'great Satisfaction of my Brethren, I found a Con-'cern upon me to travel abroad as *a Minister*; 'and I acquainted my Master therewith, who had 'been as a Father to me: He told me, Before I 'went on that Errand I must acquaint the Elders 'therewith, and lay it before the Monthly-meeting,' (enlarging on the peculiar End of those Meetings, setting forth the Service thereof, to take Care of our Poor, and to deal with Offenders who were a Scandal by their ill Conduct to their Profession, and sundry other Matters cognisable in those Meetings) 'that they might judge, *whether my Concern was* 'right, and give me a Letter of Recommendation 'or Certificate, to signify their Unity and Satis-'faction therein: Which I did accordingly, and 'with some very suitable Advice to my then pre-'sent Infant State as a Minister, they gave me a 'Certificate or a Letter of Recommendation, and 'signed it in the Meeting, as is usual in such Cases: 'I accomplished that Journey, and was, at my 'Return, called upon to give Account thereof, and 'to deliver up my Certificate.

'After which, in a short Time, I had another 'Journey before me, and by our Discipline, or 'Church Government, was obliged to go to the 'same Meeting for a fresh Certificate, which was 'readily granted; and the Brethren rejoiced at my 'Improvement, advising me to *render the Honour*

'*thereof where due.* At my Return, I was obliged 'to attend the ſaid Meeting, and give Account of 'my Travels as before: This Practice amongſt us 'is judged needful, leſt any one ſhould ſwerve 'from their firſt Foundation, and undertake to 'preach without a *right* Commiſſion, and ſo im-'poſe upon our Friends who know them not.

'In a little Time I was concerned to take another 'Journey, and laid before the ſaid Meeting my 'Concern as aboveſaid, and had a Certificate. At 'my Return I gave Account as before, and deli-'vered my Certificate: After which, I had another 'Concern to viſit this Nation in this very Journey, 'and laid my Concern before the ſaid Meeting, 'had a Certificate readily granted me (and pulling 'it out of my Pocket-book ſaid) and *there it is.*' At which, one of them took it, and, at the Deſire of the reſt, read it up; and it was returned me with a profound Silence: So I proceeded to add, 'that 'I had viſited all that Kingdom, where I found 'Drawings in my Spirit to go, and this (ſo far as 'I yet ſee) is the laſt Place: And now I muſt 'leave you to judge, whether it's not reaſonable 'for you to conclude, at leaſt that I think myſelf 'concerned by an almighty Power, elſe how could 'I have expoſed myſelf to ſuch an unruly Mob as 'I have preached to this Day?' Here I ſtopt; and one in the Company aſked, *if all our Preachers came by their Miniſtry this ſame Way?* To which I replied, 'I could not give Account how another Man might 'receive his Miniſtry, but I have given you a faith-'ful and candid Account how I received mine.'

Here

Here my Companion was full of Matter to relate, by giving them an Account how he came by his Miniſtry, but let in a Fear, that what he might add, would hurt the Cauſe. One of the Company ſaid, *it's enough what we have heard,* and ſo he was very handſomely excuſed.

The Night (by the Time this was over) being far ſpent, it being ſome Time paſt the Middle, a Reckoning was called, and they would not allow us to pay any Part thereof, but took Leave of us with great Affection; and the Country Gentleman, that was aſſiſting to our Liberty, gave us a very kind Invitation to his Houſe, which we received very thankfully; but being engaged in our Minds for *England,* had not Freedom to go with him: So we parted in a very loving and friendly Manner. We being now left to ourſelves, I had an Opportunity to reflect on what had paſſed, and to examine my whole Conduct all that Day; a Practice I frequently uſed, after a more than common Day's Service, and indeed after every Opportunity of an Enlargement in my Gift, by Experience finding the beſt Inſtructor in my own Boſom, to ſhew where I hit the Matter or miſſed it: And conſidering why I began *ſo low as my Father,* ſetting forth my Manner of Education and Trade, which ſeemed to have no Relation to my Call to the Miniſtry, I ſaw the Reaſon thereof, and found it to be this, that they might not think my Miniſtry to have, in the leaſt, any Dependance upon *Literature*; a Qualification much depended on for the Work of the Miniſtry amongſt them, and ſome of them will not take

take any Notice of any other Sort; if a Man (for they will not admit a Woman to have any Part in this Work) be he never ſo divinely fitted by the Spirit, yet if he want human Learning, it's all nothing with them. Thus the Wiſdom of Truth, which I did not ſee ſo plainly at firſt, appeared to my Underſtanding very clearly: And on a cloſe and narrow Inſpection into this Day's Work, I found inward Peace, a Joy ſpring in my Heart that I could not ſet forth by Words. And my Companion had more Eaſe and true Content than I feared he could have, by reaſon of his not coming up in his Service, to let the Company know how he came by his Miniſtry, and by what Authority he preached.

I have been more particular in the Relation of this Day's Work than I otherwiſe ſhould have been, as containing in it ſuch ſignal Marks of Providence; *firſt*, That we ſhould be detained in *Hold*, juſt till the People from the Country were come in. *Secondly*, and then ſet at Liberty to ſay what the Lord gave us. And *Thirdly*, That we had ſo ſeaſonable an Opportunity to explain our Practice as to the *Miniſters*, viz. the Conduct of the Society towards them; and likewiſe the Service of our Monthly-meetings reſpecting the *Poor*, *Marriages*, admoniſhing *Offenders*, making up *Differences*, granting of *Certificates* to ſuch as ſaw Cauſe to remove themſelves from one Monthly-meeting to another, as well as to Miniſters. Which by their ſhewing ſo much Kindneſs, and raiſing no Objection to any Thing ſaid on theſe Heads, did plainly demonſtrate their good liking and Satisfaction therewith.

The

The next Morning we set out for *England*, and by the Evening got amongst Friends in the *Border*, within the Compass of *Sowport* Meeting, and had some few Meetings, as at the *Border*, *Scotby*, *Carlisle*, and some others. I came to my old Master *Samuel Parrot*'s, having no Place to retire to as a Home, but sometimes I was at *Sedgwick*, and sometimes quartered with my Friend *Robert Chambers*, and sometimes at *Kendal*, and at *Gateside*, at honest *William Simpson*'s, where I did sometimes help them in their Business, he being a *Blacksmith*. But I was now preparing myself for a Journey into *America*, and was near ready: And I had an Opportunity to take my Leave of the Neighbouring Meetings, as *Dent*, *Garsdale*, *Sedburg*, *Grayrigg*, *Kendal*, *Preston*, with divers other Neighbouring Meetings thereabouts; but that at *Preston* was the most memorable and solid, the Sense whereof continued with me all over *America*, at Times; I went thence to *Yelland*, and many Friends came to that Meeting from divers Places to take Leave of me, so that it was a very large and living Meeting; and I parted with my Brethren in great Love and Unity. I then came by *Wray*, *Bentham*, *Settle* and *Airton*, that great and good Man *William Ellis* being then living, and full of Power, having great and solid Experience concerning the Work of the Ministry, who was very edifying to me, by the wholsome Counsel he gave. *James Wilson* was then with me, who was not at that Time a public Minister, yet of great Service in visiting Families, being closely engaged in Spirit for the maintaining good Order and Discipline;

Diſcipline; and we being both very young in theſe Things, this worthy Friend gave ſuch Advice to us both, with reſpect to a faithful coming up in our Services, that we could with good Reaſon ſay, that his Words *were like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver*; for a long Time after, the Senſe and Virtue of them dwelt on my Mind, to my great Advantage. We ſtayed with him one Night, and had a ſmall Meeting, in which the Preference and Value I had for him, together with an Awe that was on my Spirit concerning his great Services and Experience as a Miniſter, took ſuch Place in my Mind, that I was ſilent before him.

Next Day we took our Leave, and he brought us on our Way a little, heartily praying at parting, that *I might be preſerved in my Place, and return with Safety.*

James Wilſon came with me as far as *Leeds*, and then we parted, and I went through *Nottinghamſhire* and *Leiceſterſhire*, viſiting ſundry Meetings, (where ſome Time before I met with great Trials and Afflictions in Mind, as already hinted) and ſome were convinced: My Mind was ſtrongly engaged to ſee them in my Way, and I had good Satisfaction in that Viſit.

Having done this, I went by the Way of *Hitching* and *Hertford*, viſiting ſundry Meetings, finding Encouragement to go on: But I ſtill expected that I ſhould be ſtopt by the Morning-meeting, for want of a Companion. I came to *London* the latter End of the *Tenth Month*, 1701, being by Letters adviſed, the Ships would ſail in a Week's Time,

or

or very ſhortly; but a War breaking out between *England* and *France*, an Embargo was laid on all Shipping for two Months, ſo that there was no Expectation of getting off. I ſtaid in *London* about three Weeks, viſiting all the Meetings in and about the City, which gave the Brethren a thorough Taſte of my Service; ſome of my beſt Friends adviſing, that I ſhould not lay my Concern before the Meeting, that I deſigned for *America*, until the General or Monthly-meeting of Miniſters did come round, and in that Time my Service as a Miniſter would be generally known. I readily complied; and when the Time came, I went in great Fear to lay my Concern before that Meeting, being ſtill apprehenſive I ſhould not be permitted to proceed, for want of a ſuitable Companion; but as no Objection did ariſe, they peruſed the Certificates that I had from the Monthly and Quarterly-Meetings, and did well approve thereof; and a Minute was made, appointing ſome Friends to prepare a Certificate againſt the next Meeting; which was accordingly done, brought there, and ſigned.

All Things now being clear for my going the firſt Opportunity, it was thought proper to ſee for a Ship, which by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Friends was done, but no likelihood of going quickly, by reaſon of the Embargo.

I had ſome Deſire to viſit the *Weſt*, in particular *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Briſtol*, and *Wilts*, but at a Loſs for a Horſe, having ſold my own ſoon after I came to *London*; but the Friend to whom I ſold him, offered that I ſhould have him that Journey, which

I accepted, and ſo ſet out, having in Company a young Man that had been bred at a College, his Name was *Samuel Criſp*, a pretty meek ſpirited Youth, and rightly convinced. When we got forty or fifty Miles from *London*, he had ſtrong Inclinations to go back. I made a kind of a running Viſit; and when I was at *Briſtol*, my Friends there were exceeding kind, and would willingly have had me gone from thence; but my prior Engagement at *London* would not permit it.

I ſtaid there two Weeks at leaſt, and taking my Leave, ſundry Friends brought me on my Way to *Bath*, *Bradford*, &c. They returned, and I went on for *London*, and quartering at an Inn at *Hungerford*, (not being eaſy to take any more Meetings till I came to *London*) I fell in Company with a couple of Tradeſmen, who, when we ſat down to Supper, complimented each other about which ſhould *crave a Bleſſing*, at laſt they pulled off their Hats, and one of them did it in ſome ſort; but my ſitting with my Hat on was ſuch an Offence, that they began to reprove me very ſharply: I ſaid but very little for ſome Time, until they had ſpent their Reproach upon me, and then I ſpoke to this Effect, 'That the Appearance they made, juſt before Sup-'per was brought to the Table, was ſo very void 'of Grace in their Hearts, that I could not think 'it my Place to pull off my Hat to their formal 'Prayer: And beſides, as ſoon as the Words were 'out of their Mouths and over, it appeared to me 'that they were the ſame, and I ſaw by their Con-'duct that they did not underſtand the Nature of

'*true*

'*true Prayer*, which is to be performed both with 'the Spirit and Underſtanding; and if you had not 'wanted both, you could not paſs ſuch ſilly Com-'pliments on each other about it.' I was now very quiet, and they ſaid no more to me. But as ſoon as Supper was over, and the Reckoning paid, they left me with free Conſent, for our Company was unſuitable.

Next Day I went towards *London* by *Newbury*, where I ſtopt at a Funeral, and ſo to *Reading*, and by *Maidenhead* to the City, but found the Embargo not yet taken off. It being now pretty near the Middle of the *Firſt Month*, I viſited ſome Parts of *Hertfordſhire*, having my dear Friend *John Tompkins* part of the Time, and *Samuel Criſp*, who was a ſweet Companion, having received the Knowledge of the Truth the right Way.

About a Week or two in the *Second Month*, Orders were given for the Merchants to get ready, and a Convoy was to go with them: But for all this, it was the latter End of the *Third Month* before we got off; ſo I had an Opportunity to viſit the greateſt Part of *Kent*. And after we ſailed from the *Downs*, we were put into *Portſmouth* Harbour by contrary Winds, and lay there two or three Weeks, which was very tireſome. But all this Time I never conſidered any Danger of being taken by the *French*; it did not ſo much as enter into my Mind, until I came into *Philadelphia*, where hearing that *Thomas Story*, *Richard Groves*, and others, were taken ſome Time before, and carried into *Martinico*, a *French* Iſland, I thought of it more cloſely.

I left

I left *England* in the *Third Month*, 1702, about the Time of the Yearly-meeting, with inward Satisfaction and Peace of Mind, and wrote a few Lines to be sent to the Meeting of Ministers in *Kendal*, or elsewhere, in *Westmoreland*, my native Place; which I here insert, being the first Fruits of that kind to my Brethren.

'*To the* MEETING *of* MINISTERS *at* Kendal, '*in* Westmoreland. *These.*

'*My dearly beloved Brethren and Sisters,*

'IN that Love which in Time past we have 'enjoyed together, do I heartily salute you, 'having in mind some few Things to impart, as 'Counsel and Caution to us all, including myself 'therein.

'We who apprehend ourselves called into this 'public Station of Preaching, ought closely to wait 'on our Guide, to put us forth in the Work. And '*dear Friends*, I see great Need for us to carefully 'mind our Openings, and go on as we are led by 'the Spirit; for if we over-run our Guide and 'Openings, we shall be confused, not knowing 'where, or how to conclude: But if we begin and 'go on with the Spirit, we shall conclude so, that 'all who are truly spiritual will sensibly feel that 'we are right: Thus will our Ministry edify them 'that hear it.

'And *dear Friends*, let us be singly and in Sincerity devoted to the Will of God, whether to 'preach or be silent; for if we are not sensible of

'such

'such a Resignation, it is doubtful, that we may 'set ourselves at work, when we should be quiet, 'and so bring an Uneasiness upon our Friends, and 'a Burthen upon ourselves: And this Conduct will 'shut up Friends Hearts against our Service and 'Ministry. And *my dear Friends*, every Time you 'appear in the Ministry, when it is over, examine 'yourselves narrowly, whether you have kept in 'your Places, and to your Guide; and consider, 'whether you have not used superfluous Words, 'that render the Matter disagreeable, or such Tones 'or Gestures as misbecome the Work we are about; 'always remembring, that the *true Ministers preach 'not* themselves, *but Christ Jesus our Lord.* Let us 'bear this in mind, that neither Arts, Parts, Strength 'of Memory, nor former Experiences will, with-'out the Sanctification of the Spirit, do any Thing 'for us to depend upon. Let us therefore, I en-'treat you, keep to the living Fountain, the Spring 'of eternal Life, opened by our Lord Jesus Christ 'in our Hearts.

'I also desire, that you would not neglect your 'Day's Work, in visiting the dark Corners of the 'Counties about you; but be mindful of your Ser-'vice therein, as the Lord shall make Way for it.

'The Things above written have been on my 'Mind to communicate to you, *my dear Friends*, 'with Desires that the God and Father of our Lord 'Jesus Christ may be with your Spirits, *Amen.* 'Hoping also, that I shall not be forgotten by you, 'in your nearest Approaches to the Throne of 'Grace, in your Supplications to the God of the

'Spirits of all Fleſh; remembring me, that I may 'be preſerved by Sea, and in the Wilderneſs, through 'the many and various Exerciſes and Baptiſms, that 'I may be ſuffered to undergo for the Service's 'Sake; and that I may be preſerved in Humility, 'and Self-denial, under the Power of the Croſs, the 'moſt beautiful Ornaments a Miniſter can ever be 'cloathed with; that if it pleaſe him we ſhould 'meet again, our Joy may then be full in the Holy 'Ghoſt, which is the fervent Prayer of your exer-'ciſed Friend and Brother,

SAMUEL BOWNAS.'

This was written in the *Second Month* 1702, and left with my Friend *John Tompkins*, not to ſend it until he heard I was gone off.

An ACCOUNT *of my* TRAVELS *in* America, *the firſt Time.*

AS adviſed by Friends appointed to aſſiſt me, I took my Paſſage on board the *Joſiah*, *John Sowden* Maſter, bound for *Weſt-River* in *Maryland*, and we left *England* about the 24*th* of the *Third Month* 1702, and landed in the River of *Patuxent* in *Maryland*, about the 29*th* of the *Fifth Month* following.

I viſited ſome Meetings in that Province; but *George Keith* being there, and challenging Diſputes wherever he came, gave both me and Friends ſome Exerciſe: To me, by challenging a Diſpute without my previous Knowledge, in the following Terms.

'To

'*To the* PREACHER *lately arrived from* England.

'*SIR,*

'I Intend to give Notice after Sermon, that you
'and myself are to dispute To-morrow, and
'would have you give Notice thereof accordingly.

'*Sir, I am your humble Servant,*

Dated the 1st SUNDAY in AUGUST, 1702.

'GEORGE KEITH.'

He writ this on Occasion of an honest Friend's speaking sharply to him, and giving him the Title of an *Apostate*; adding, she could not pretend to dispute with him, but a Friend that was to be at their Meeting on *First-day* next, (meaning me) she did not doubt would talk with him. *Well then*, said *Keith*, *next* Monday *let him come, and I will prove him, and all the* Quakers, *unsound in both Faith and Principle.* With more of that kind. The honest Woman being warm, and zealous for the Cause, replied, *He will not be afraid of thee, I'm sure.*

The Messenger that brought the Letter, delivered it in haste, as he was ordered, to *John Faulkner*, a young Man from *Scotland*, who was then Storekeeper in *B. Brains* and Companies Employ. We were just then a considerable Number of us in Company, going to a Meeting at *Chester* in the Woods, some Distance from any House, and *John* insisted for me to write an Answer, adding, Keith *would call*

the Country together, and make much Noise about it, as if we were afraid, &c. *and 'twas best to nip his Expectation in the Bud.* And as we knew Nothing of the Conference *Keith* had with the Woman Friend two Days before, I writ to the Effect following.

'GEORGE KEITH,

'I Have received thine, and think myself no way 'obliged to take any Notice of one that hath 'been so very mutable in his Pretences to Religion; 'besides, as thou hast long since been disowned, af-'ter due Admonition given thee by our Yearly-'meeting in *London*, for thy quarrelsome and irregu-'lar Practices, thou art not worthy of my Notice, 'being no more to me than a Heathen Man and a 'Publican; is the needful from

'SAMUEL BOWNAS.'

Dated the same Day.

John Faulkner carried my Answer, and we went to our Meeting, being at *Chester* in *Maryland*, as aforesaid: By that Time the Meeting was fully gathered, *John Faulkner* came back, and we had a comfortable Meeting: Afterwards *John Faulkner* told us, *George Keith* read my Letter publickly amongst his Company, appearing very angry at the Contents of it; and the Company laughed very heartily, many of them being much pleased with it: But *John Faulkner* came out of the Company, and a substantial Planter followed him, and told him, he had much rather go with him to our Meeting, than to hear *George Keith* rail

rail and abuſe the *Quakers*; but he, being in the Commiſſion of the Peace, muſt (as *Keith* was recommended by the Biſhop of *London*) ſhew ſome Reſpect; withal adding, that *John Faulkner* ſhould bring me to his Houſe to dine the next Day; which *John Faulkner* would have excuſed, urging, that as they had a Value for me, ſundry Friends would be for bringing me on my Way farther; adding, we ſhould incommode his Houſe. He urged it the more, ſaying, *we ſhould all be welcome.* Accordingly ſeveral went with me there, and he was very kind, giving us an Account of *George Keith*'s railing againſt us the Day before, and how diſagreeable it was to the Aſſembly. *Keith* left a broad Sheet printed, wherein he pretended to prove the *Quakers* no *Chriſtians*, out of their own Books; I had an Anſwer thereto in print, which Friends were glad of, and I left with them ſeveral to ſpread where he had left his.

After we had dined, we took our Leave, and a Friend, my Guide, went with me, and brought me to a People called *Labadeiſts*, where we were civilly entertained in their Way. When Supper came in, it was placed upon a long Table in a large Room, where, when all Things were ready, came in, at a Call, about twenty Men or upwards, but no Women: We all ſat down, they placing me and my Companion near the Head of the Table, and having pauſed a ſhort Space, one pulled off his Hat, but not the reſt till a ſhort Space after, and then one after another they pulled all their Hats off, and in that uncovered Poſture ſat ſilent (uttering no Words that we could hear) near Half a Quarter of an Hour; and as they

did not uncover at once, ſo neither did they cover themſelves again at once; but as they put on their Hats fell to eating, not regarding thoſe who were ſtill uncovered, ſo that it might be about two Minutes Time or more, between the firſt and laſt putting on of their Hats. I afterwards queried with my Companion concerning *the Reaſon of their Conduct*, and he gave this for Anſwer, That they held it unlawful to pray till they felt ſome inward Motion for the ſame; and that ſecret Prayer was more acceptable than to utter Words; and that it was moſt proper for every one to pray, as moved thereto by the Spirit in their own Minds.

I likewiſe queried, *if they had no Women amongſt them?* He told me they had, but the Women eat by themſelves, and the Men by themſelves, having all Things in common, reſpecting their houſhold Affairs, ſo that none could claim any more Right than another to any Part of their Stock, whether in Trade or Huſbandry; and if any had a mind to join with them, whether Rich or Poor, they muſt put what they had in the common Stock, and if they afterwards had a Mind to leave the Society, they muſt likewiſe leave what they brought, and go out empty handed.

They frequently expounded the Scriptures among themſelves, and being a very large Family, in all upwards of a Hundred Men, Women and Children, carried on ſomething of the Manufactory of Linen, and had a very large Plantation of Corn, Tobacco, Flax, and Hemp, together with Cattle of ſeveral Kinds. [But at my laſt going there, theſe People were

were all ſcattered and gone, and Nothing of them remaining of a religious Community in that Shape.]

I left this Place and travelled through the Country to *Philadelphia*, and was there ſeized with a *Fever* and *Ague*, which held me about thirteen Weeks, and I ſtaid there till the yearly Meeting came on, which was very large, but my Diſorder of the *Ague* would not admit my being at one Meeting; *George Keith* with his Companions came, but the Diſturbance they gave was a conſiderable Advantage to Friends, and the Meeting ended to great Satisfaction.

Being recovered and pretty ſtrong, I left *Pennſylvania*, and travelled through the *Jerſeys* Eaſt and Weſt, and having given Expectation to a Friend, one *James Miller* in *Scotland*, who had a Siſter married to one of the *Barclay*'s Family, that if I came near where ſhe dwelt, I would viſit her at his Requeſt. She was a very zealous honeſt Friend, but her Huſband joined *Keith*, and left Friends; and on enquiring about her, where ſhe dwelt? I was told, it would be very little out of my Way. Then a young Man offered to be my Guide, to pay her a Viſit; and when we came to the Houſe, there were ſundry Prieſts, with others, met to ſprinkle an Infant, the ſaid *Barclay*'s Grandchild: The Ceremony was over before we got there, we coming from *Shrewſbury* Yearly-meeting, where *Keith* alſo had been, but gave us no Diſturbance, nor did he come to our Meeting at all, but held a Meeting a ſmall Diſtance from us for two Days, and then went off. Our Meeting held three Days, and was thought to be larger by much, in Expectation that *George Keith* would be there. It

ended well, and it was said, some were convinced at that Meeting

But to return to my Friend *Barclay*; she was in an Apartment by herself, and gave me a short Account of what they were or had been doing; saying, *they have sprinkled the Babe my Grand-child, and the Ceremony is over, but they have not yet been to Dinner*; to which she added, *my Husband will be earnest for thy Company; if thou hast Freedom to go, I shall leave thee at Liberty, but if thou refusest to go, they will be ready to report, that thou durst not face them*; adding, *I would be pleased with your Company* (meaning me and my Companion) *to dine with me, but it will be best, I think, for you to dine with them, and I hope*, said she, *the Lord will give you Wisdom to conduct yourselves, that they may have no just Cause to reproach the Principle on your Account.* She had no sooner ended, than (as she had suggested) her Husband came, and after some Compliments, and Enquiry about his Brother-in-law *James Miller*, and Relations at *Ury*, we were called to Dinner, and by no Means would he excuse me: We went in, and the Mistress of the Feast, the Mother of the Babe then sprinkled, would have me sit at her Right-hand, and set *George Keith* at her Left. We sat all down, and after a short Pause *George Keith* stood up with all the rest of the Company, save me and my Companion, we kept our Places, and Hats on, while he repeated a long Prayer for the Church and State, Bishops, and all the inferior Clergy, the Queen, and Dutchess Dowager of *Hanover*, &c. The Grace being ended, the Mistress carved, and would serve me first; I would have

refused

refuſed, and put it to *George Keith*, but he refuſed it likewiſe: When ſhe had done helping us and herſelf, ſhe began to catechiſe me in the following manner.

After enquiring about her Relations at *Ury* in *Scotland*, and her Uncle *Miller*, ſhe then deſired to know my Buſineſs in *Scotland*, pretending to ſuppoſe me a Merchant that dealt in Linen to ſell in *England*; but I ſaw her Deſign was to lead me to ſome unwary Anſwer, for *Keith* and the reſt to find Matter of Objection to. This put me upon my Guard, to make Reply cautiouſly; I freely owned I had no Concern in buying or ſelling of any ſort of Goods. *Pray then*, Sir, *what was your Call there?* I replied, that I thought it my place ſometimes to adviſe my Friends and others, to endeavour ſo to live, that Death, when it comes, might not be a Terror to them; and doubt not but thou wilt count this a good Work, and needful to be done. She readily allowed, *that it was very needful*, and the more ſo, *for that the Age was now very wicked.* Then ſhe proceeded to query the Reaſon of my coming into thoſe Parts, pretending to ſuppoſe it was on account of Trade, as being a Supercargoe, with ſundry trifling and impertinent Queſtions, as *when I was in ſuch and ſuch Places?* To all which I gave her Anſwers to the ſame Effect as before, that my deſigned Buſineſs was the ſame in this Country as in *Scotland*. Then ſhe proceeded to more trifling Queſtions, as *when I landed? and where?* and *which Way I was going?* All the Company at Table gave ear to our Dialogue, which appeared to me very weak in ſuch a learned Company as they thought

thought themſelves to be, and none ſo much as put in a Word between us. Dinner being ended, I deſired to be excuſed, for that Time called me away, and my Friends would wait for me at the Ferry, which we had to paſs that Evening. Thus *Keith* and I met and parted.

Then taking Leave, I went to ſee my worthy Friend in her own Aparment, with whom we had a ſhort, but very agreeable Opportunity: We took our Leave and went to *Woodbridge*, where the next Day we had a Meeting, *George Keith* preached at *Amboy* the ſame Day, which Places are not far apart; we often interfered one with the other, but he no more gave me any Challenge to diſpute, but took another Method to put a Stop to my Travelling, as will appear afterwards. We came to *Long-Iſland*, and a Meeting was appointed for me at a ſmall Village called *Hempſtead*, where *George Keith* alſo was, either by Accident or Deſign, and had at the ſame appointed to preach within our hearing, and between the two Appointments, there was a very large Gathering; and I being young and ſtrong, my Voice was plainly heard by the People who were with *Keith*, ſo that they all left his Meeting and came to ours, (for we had Room enough for both Meetings, it being a very large Barn) except he that exerciſed as Clerk, and one *William Bradford*, who had been a *Printer* for Friends at *Philadelphia*, but deſerting the Society, Friends took the Buſineſs from him. But ſome Time after, *Keith* and the ſaid *Bradford* agreed, that *Bradford* ſhould come and try if no Advantage might be taken at my Doctrine; accordingly he came, and

and pulled out of his Pocket a ſmall Book, with Pen and Ink, and ſtedfaſtly ſtared in my Face, to put me out of Countenance if he could; but I was above being daunted at that Time, though at other Times very incident to it. He opened his ſaid Book and writ about two Lines in it, then ſhut it again, continuing his ſtaring, to try (as ſome thought) whether he could not daunt me; but it was paſt his Skill, for I felt both inward and outward Strength, and divine Power to fill my Heart, and my Face was like Braſs to all Oppoſition; he opened his Book, writ obout two Lines more, and a little after about two more, in the whole about ſix Lines in a ſmall octavo Leaf; and after I had done, he ſtood up and ſaid, *Will you ſtand by theſe Doctrines in public that have been now preached?* (meaning by public Diſpute.) A worthy Friend, *John Rodman* by Name, deſired him to be quiet, and after Meeting was ended he ſhould be anſwered. Accordingly the Meeting concluded, and he waited for his Anſwer. To which Friend *Rodman* ſaid, William, *thou knoweſt what our Friend hath been concerned to ſpeak about this Day, are ſuch Points as have been by the Preſs argued over and over; and as the Controverſy has been ſome Years in the Preſs, 'tis therefore needleſs at this Time o' Day to reduce it to a verbal Diſpute.* But he wanted to hear what I would ſay to the matter; and I told him, his Queſtions being more for Contention than Edification, I therefore did not think myſelf obliged to anſwer them; more eſpecially, ſince for his Contentious and diſorderly walking, he had been dealt with and adviſed in a Brotherly and *Chriſtian* Spirit to repent,

but

but his perſiſting in the ſame, had obliged his Friends to diſown him, *and for this Reaſon*, I ſaid, *I have no more to ſay to thee on this Head.* He turned from me, and in a very angry manner ſaid, *I ſhould hear of it in another Way.* But I called him back, having ſomething to ſay on another Subject; which was to deliver ſome Tokens of Gold ſent his Wife by her Siſter from *London:* This ſoftened him ſomewhat, (he finding the Pieces to agree with the Letter, which I requeſted might be opened before my Friends there) and brought him to confeſs, that he believed I was a very honeſt Man, and he was ſorry I ſhould be under ſuch a Deluſion, as to be in Communion with that erroneous People. But at his Return to *Keith*, they laid their Heads together, and trumped up the following Depoſitions from what he had writ as aforeſaid, *viz.*

'I *William Bradford*, of the City of *New-York*, 'aged about forty Years, depoſe upon the holy 'Evangeliſts. The 21*ſt* of *November* 1702, going 'into the *Quakers* Meeting at *Nathaniel Pearſal*'s 'deceaſed, in *Hempſtead*, I heard one *Bown*, that is 'lately come out of *England*, preach, and the firſt 'Words I heard him ſay, were *the Sign of the Croſs*; 'and thus; Friends, having gone through the *Pa-'piſt* Baptiſm, let us examine the Church of *England:* 'Well, what do they do? Why the Biſhop lays his 'Hand upon thoſe that have learned the Languages, 'and ordains them to be Miniſters. Well! and 'what do they do? Why they baptize the Children, 'the young Children, and ſprinkle a little Water in

'their

'their Faces, and by this they make the Child a
'*Christian*, as they say, and for so doing the Chil-
'drens Parents must give the Priest 4*d.* or a Groat;
'indeed this is an easy Way of making *Christians*
'for a Groat! And how do they do this? Their
'own Catechism tells us the Priest says to the Child,
'what is thy Name? The Child answers, *Thomas*,
'*James*, *Mary*, &c. Well! and who gave thee
'this Name? The Child answers, my God-fathers
'and God-mothers in my Baptism, wherein I was
'made a Member of Christ. This is brave to be
'made a Member of Christ! Who would not have
'a little Water sprinkled in their Faces? And what
'did your God-fathers and God-mothers then for
'you? *Answer*, They did Promise and Vow three
'Things in my Name; 1*st.* That I should renounce
'the Devil and all his Works, the Pomps and Vani-
'ties of this wicked World, and all the sinful Lusts
'of the Flesh. Ay! did they so? this is brave. Well!
'what did they promise more? 2*dly.* That I should
'keep God's holy Will and Commandments, and
'walk in the same all the Days of my Life: And
'yet in Contradiction to this, they plead for Sin
'Term of Life, and say they can't keep God's Com-
'mandments in this Life. Why! this is strange,
'that the God-fathers and God-mothers should
'promise what they believe they can't perform.
'And does the God-fathers and God-mothers thus
'promise? Yes, they do. But this is strange, that
'their God should need a God-father and God-mo-
'ther. But Friends, our God is the true and living
'God; in the first of *John* it is said, *In the Begin-*
'*ning*

'*ning was the Word, and the Word was God.* But 'this God had no need of a God-father or God-mo-'ther. Well! and what do the *Presbyterians* do? 'Why they baptize their Infants also; but as I take 'it, they do not make use of God-fathers and God-'mothers, nor the Sign of the Cross: They have 'thrown away that piece of *Popery*.

'Next, as to the Lord's Supper, I shall speak 'very brief; Christ says, *that which goes in at the* 'Mouth defiles not. So I shall make this Applicati-'on: The Bread and Wine which they receive, 'and call the Lord's Supper, goes in at the Mouth, 'and so into the Draught, and profit not. They 'call it a Sign; yea, and an empty Sign it is. But 'by these Ways and Forms the Hirelings deceive 'the People: But we have had sufficient Proof of 'these Hirelings in our Day; for they will turn 'with every Wind, and every Turn that will answer 'their Priests Ends, as we have seen fulfilled large-'ly in our Day.

'*William Bradford.*

Coram nobis. 'JOSEPH SMITH, 'EDWARD BURROWS, } Justices.

'*A true Copy by* Thomas Cardall, *High-Sheriff.*'

Having patched up the above Deposition in their own Way and Manner, and Form of Expression, *Keith* informs, and *Bradford* was his Evidence; and being at a Loss for want of another Evidence to confirm *Bradford*'s, (without which they could not proceed)

ceed) they met with a young Man who was there, and *Keith* got some Words out of him, that he said he heard spoken; then they threatned, if he did not come in for Evidence to what he had heard, what they would do to him; therefore he was prevailed on, thro' Fear, to give his Evidence on Oath, in the Words *George Keith* had got from him by Guile, before the said two Justices, which he did as followeth, although to no Purpose.

'*Richard Smith*, aged about 28 Years, deposeth 'upon the four Evangelists: That on *Sunday* 'last, he, this Deponent, was at a *Quakers* Meeting in *Hempstead*, where he heard a Man preach, 'whose Name he since understands is *Samuel Bowne*: 'In his preaching, he, this Deponent, remembers to 'have heard him speak these Words, or Words to 'the like Effect, *viz.* That the Church of *England* 'in Baptism made use of God-fathers and God-mothers; but our God is the ever living God, and 'has no need of a God-father or God-mother: And 'further this Deponent saith not.

'*Richard Smith.*

Jurat 24th Die 9bris 1702, coram nobis. 'JOSEPH SMITH, 'EDWARD BURROWS, } Justices.'

Having thus laid a Foundation for a Prosecution, a Warrant was issued out. A Copy of which is as followeth.

Queens

Queens County, ss. } ‘ JOSEPH SMITH, *Esq*; EDWARD ‘ BURROWS, *Esq*; *Justices of the* ‘ *Peace for* Queens County, *to the* ‘ *High-Sheriff of the County*, Greeting.

‘ YOU are hereby, in her Majesty's Name, ‘ strictly charged and commanded, immediately on the Receipt hereof, to attach the Body of ‘ *Samuel Bowne*, a *Quaker*, if he can be found in ‘ your Bailiwick, and to bring his Body before us, ‘ to answer to such Matters of Misdemeanour, as ‘ shall on her Majesty's Behalf be objected against ‘ him. And hereof fail not at your Peril. Dated ‘ under our Hands and Seals this 24*th* 9*ber* 1702.

Vera Copia Ex. p. Tho. Cardall, *vic.* ‘ JOS. SMITH, ‘ EDW. BURROWS, } Justices.’

Thus all Things were ready to be put in Execution, and sundry substantial People, not Friends, would have had me gone off, but that I could not do; therefore on the 29*th* of the same Month, as I was at *Flushing* in *Long-Island*, it being the Half-yearly Meeting, which was very large, *Keith* being expected there: When the Meeting was fully set, the High-Sheriff came with a very large Company with him, who were all armed; some had Guns, others Pitchforks, others Swords, Clubs, Halberts, &c. as if they should meet with great Opposition in taking a poor silly harmless Sheep out of the Flock.

The

The Sheriff ſtepping up into the Gallery, took me by the Hand, and told me, *I was his Priſoner.* By what Authority? ſaid I: He pulled out his Warrant, and ſhew'd it me: I told him that Warrant was to take up *Samuel Bowne*, and my Name was not *Samuel Bowne*, but that Friend's Name is ſo, pointing at the Friend by me: We know him, ſaid he, that's not the Man, but you are the Man: Pray then, *What's your Name?* That, ſaid I, is a Queſtion that requires Conſideration, whether proper to anſwer or not, for no Man is bound to anſwer to his own Prejudice; the Law forces none to accuſe himſelf. Thus we *pro'd* and *con'd* a little Time, and I got up from my Seat, and *John Rodman*, *Samuel Bowne*, and ſundry other Friends, and walked out of the Meeting, it not being proper to diſcourſe there at that Time; and they on converſing with the Sheriff, who in his Nature was a very moderate Man, having known Friends in *England*, eaſily prevailed on him to ſtay the Meeting, with all his Retinue, and afterwards they would conſider what was beſt to be done. They willingly laid down their Arms on the outſide of the Door, and came in, which encreaſed the Throng very much: The Meeting was ſilent a conſiderable Time, and the Sheriff's Company queried of one another privately, ſo as I heard it, *Why I did not preach?* others concluding that I ſhould preach no more, being now a Priſoner; that's enough to ſilence him, ſaid they: But finding the Word like as a Fire, I could no longer contain, but ſtanding up, I had a very agreeable Service, both to myſelf and Friends, with the reſt of the Company;

the Sheriff himself, and his Company also, spoke well of it: It was the first Day of the Meeting, and the seventh of the Week. After Meeting was ended, sundry Friends went to *Samuel Bowne*'s, to consult with the Sheriff, and he being very moderate, and in a very good Humour, spoke very mild and courteously, blaming *Keith* and *Bradford*, and gave Liberty that I should stay with my Friends until *Fifth-day* following, there being two Days of the Meeting yet to come, and a Funeral of a noted Friend to be the Day after it ended: The Meeting encreased, and the last was both largest and most open; it was supposed there might be near 2000 People the last Day, but *Keith* did not come there.

Now the Time for my Appearance before the Justices being come, sundry substantial Friends went with me, and a great Crowd of other People came to hear; but for want of the Conveniency of a large Hall, which they might have had, but by the Coldness of the Season, as was pretended, the Justices would not go there, so they were deprived of the Opportunity for want of Room to hear my Examination.

There were four Justices, *viz. Joseph Smith, Edward Burrows, John Smith* and *Jonathan Whitehead*. This last was a very moderate Man, and endeavoured much to have set me at Liberty; but they had a Priest with them, who endeavoured to put the worst Construction on every Thing I said: Besides, they had shut a Man up behind in a Closet, to take in Short-hand the Examination, that they might peruse the same to their own Advantage: But the Man

was

was so very drunk, that he lost his Papers going Home, and a Friend providentially found them, to their great Disappointment and Shame: Great Enquiry was made about them among the People in vain. Having done what they thought fit in examining me, they turned me and my Friends out of the Room, to consult what was to be further done; and after a little Time, we were all called in, I to receive my Doom, and my Friends to hear it; and the Clerk, as Mouth of the Court, said, *These honourable Justices have agreed, that you must enter into a Two Thousand Pound Bail, Yourself in £1000. and two of your Friends in £500. each, or else be committed to the common Goal.* I answered, I could enter into no Bond on that Account. Here one of the Justices queried, *if the Sum was too large?* I answered, that was Nothing to the Matter, if as small a Sum as *Three-halfpence* would do, I should not do it, it being a Matter of such a Nature that I could by no Means comply with. Then the last Justice offered to be bound for me, in what Sum they required. But not only I, but all my Friends, did oppose it with all our Might, giving them, as well as him, the Reason for it.

It growing late the Court broke up, and this Justice begged that he might have me to his House, and he would see me forth coming on the Morrow; which they readily granted him, and then they adjourned till Ten o'Clock next Day, giving their Clerk Orders to provide my *Mittimus* by that Time.

I went with my kind Friend the young Justice to his House, and found very good and kind Entertain-

ment, his Wife being a very religious, tender-hearted Friend, and took great Care of me. Next Morning we met again, the *Mittimus* was brought in, executed, and was as under.

Queens County, ss. ‘ JOSEPH SMITH, *Esq*; EDWARD BURROWS, *Esq*; JOHN SMITH, *Esq*; *and* ‘ JONATHAN WHITEHEAD, *Esq*; ‘ *Justices of the Peace for* Queens ‘ County, *&c. To the High-Sheriff* ‘ *of* Queens County, Greeting.

‘ WE send you herewithal the Body of *Samuel* ‘ *Bownas*, a *Quaker*, brought before us this ‘ Day, and charged with speaking scandalous Lies ‘ of, and Reflections against, the Church of *England*, ‘ as by Law established, and other Misdemeanours ‘ by him done and spoken at a public Assembly in ‘ *Hempstead*, in this County, on the 21*st* Day of this ‘ Instant 9*ber*. And therefore these are in Behalf of ‘ her Majesty to command you, that immediately ‘ you receive the said *Samuel Bownas*, and him safely keep in the common Goal of this County, until that he shall be thence delivered by the due ‘ Course of her Majesty's Laws. Dated under our ‘ Hands and Seals at * *Jamaica*, this 30*th* Day of ‘ 9*ber*, in the second Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen *Anne*, of *England*, &c. *Annoque Domini*, 1702.

A

* JAMAICA in LONG-ISLAND, in NEW-YORK Government.

A true Copy, by
Tho. Cardall.

' JOSEPH SMITH,
' EDWARD BURROWS,
' JOHN SMITH,
' JONATHAN WHITEHEAD.'

Now I was delivered up a Priſoner, and my Friends left me, having firſt got me a good wholeſome Room, and a very good Bed, taking Care that I ſhould want Nothing neceſſary for Life. This continued for three Months; at the End of which, a ſpecial Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, and general Goal Delivery was given to *John Bridges*, Eſq; Chief Juſtice of the Province; *Robert Miller*, Eſq; ſecond; *Thomas Whellett*, *John Jackſon*, and *Edward Burrows*; and on the 26*th* Day of the *Twelfth Month*, *Bridges* and *Miller* came, attended with much Company, in great Pomp, with Trumpets and other Muſic before them, to hold the ſaid Court; and about the fourth Hour in the Afternoon, they in the ſame Order went to Court, which was held in the Hall, read their Commiſſion, and called over the Jury, to whom they gave an uncommon Charge, adjourning till *Monday* the 28*th*, at Ten o'Clock in the Morning.

At the ſame Time the Court met, and Proclamation was made as follows.

Cryer. O yes! Silence on Pain of Impriſonment.

Called over the Grand Jury, conſiſting of twenty two Men, and charged them to retire to their Chamber, and the Attorney General ſhould ſend them Buſineſs.

The Court adjourns.

Cryer. O yes! All Manner of Persons that have any Business at this Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, let them depart hence, and come To-morrow Morning at Eight o'Clock, and they shall be heard.

Accordingly the Grand Jury retired, and had a Bill of Indictment sent them against me, but I could never get a Copy of it first nor last. I had prepared sundry Reasons to set *Bradford*'s Evidences aside, which are here omitted, they being pretty large, but the Grand Jury had the same before them, and they were of considerable Weight with them. The 29*th* the Court met.

Cryer. O yes! All Manner of Persons that have any Business at this Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, let them draw near, and they shall be heard.

The Clerk ordered to call over the Jury.

Richard Cornell, Foreman, *Ephraim Goulding*, *John Clayer*, *Isaac Hicks*, *Robert Hubbs*, *Reginald Mott*, *Theodorus Vanderwick*, *Samuel Denton*, jun. *Joseph Mott*, *Richard Valentine*, *Nathaniel Cole*, jun. *Joseph Dickenson*, *Isaac Doughty*, *Samuel Emery*, *John Smith*, *John Serin*, *John Oakey*, *Samuel Hallet*, *Richard Allop*, *John Hunt*, *James Clement*, and *William Bloodgood*.

Then it was demanded, what Business the Jury had to lay before the Court? And they presented two Bills, one against a Woman for some Misdemeanor, and the Bill against me, both indorsed *Ignoramus*. Upon which the Judge was very angry; the other Justices on the Bench being mostly *Presbyterians*, said little or Nothing to the Matter, but he addressing himself to the Jury, said thus, *Gentlemen, surely*

surely you have forgot your Oaths, and for so doing I could give you some hard Names, but at present shall forbear: Is this your Verdict touching the Quaker? For they mattered not the other Bill, if they could have had their Ends on me.

The Foreman said, It is, Sir.

Judge. *I demand your Reasons, why you have not found the Bill against him?* Meaning me.

One, whose Name was *James Clement*, a bold Man, well skill'd in the Law, answered, we are sworn to keep the Queen's Secrets, our Fellows, and our own; and for that Reason we declare no Reasons.

Judge. *Now Mr.* Wiseman *speaks, but I tell you, you are not so sworn, and I could find in my Heart to lay you by the Heels, and a Fine upon your Brethren.*

Clement replied, he might if he pleased, but when it was done, it should be exposed with as much Expedition as the Case would admit in *Westminster-hall*; for, *adds he*, Juries, neither Grand nor Petty, are to be menaced with Threats of Stocks or Fines, but they are to Act freely, according to the best of their Judgments on the Evidence before them.

Now the Judge finding he had not Children to deal with, altered his Manner of Address, and began to flatter, and requested that they would take back both Bills, and resume their Considerations upon them. On this the Jury was in Judgment divided, but at last they all consented, and then the Court adjourned till Nine o' Clock the next Day.

Met according to Adjournment.

Cryer. O yes! All Manner of Perſons that have any Buſineſs at the Court of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, let them draw near and they ſhall be heard.

Cryer. Call over the Jury; which being done.

Judge. *Foreman, how find you the Bills?*

Foreman. As we did Yeſterday.

On which *Bridges* in great Wrath charged them with obſtructing the Courſe of Juſtice.

Why? Says *Clement!* becauſe we can't be of the ſame Mind as the Court is: We would have you to know, that we deſire no other but that Juſtice may take place.

The Judge now threatned to lay *Clement* by the Heels again. But, *Clement*, no Way daunted, told him, he might if he pleaſed; but if he did, he ſhould hear of it in another Place.

The Clerk was now ordered to call over the Jury by Name ſingly, to ſhew their Reaſons, why they could or could not find the Bills. Sundry of them refuſed to ſay any more, than *That is our Verdict.* Others again, ſaid, *How unreaſonable, and againſt Law it is, that the Court ſhould endeavour to perjure the Jury, by revealing their Secrets in the Face of the Country.* However, it appeared after the Examination of the Jury, that ſeven were for finding the Bill, and fifteen ſtood firm againſt them for the Verdict, as ſigned by the Foreman. Which anger'd the Judge to that Degree, that he gave ſtrict Orders to keep me more cloſe than before; threatning, *As Juſtice cannot be here come at, I'll ſend him to* London,

don, *chained to the* * *Man of War's Deck, like other vile Criminals, with his Crimes and Misdemeanours along with him, which are of the highest Nature, and most dangerous Consequence, as tending to subvert both Church and State.* When an Account of this was brought me, I was under a great Cloud, and the Power of Darkness so very strong upon me that I desired Death rather than Life, fearing that if I was so served, I should be an Object of Derision to all on board; and greatly doubting that I should not be able to bear the Suffering which I must undergo in such a Case, with that Decency and Honour that was requisite in so good a Cause.

The Friends left me alone, and I having lost all my Faith, which was still worse than being alone, I thought myself the most wretched among Men, and scarcely able to live under it. At which Time, an honest old ‡ Man (his Name was *Thomas Hicks*, who had been Chief Justice in the Province some Years, and well vers'd in the Law) came to visit me, and on my standing up to shew my Respects to him, he took me in his Arms, saluting me with Tears; thus expressing himself: 'Dear *Samuel*, the Lord 'hath made Use of you, as an Instrument, to put a 'Stop to arbitrary Proceedings in our Courts of Ju-'stice, which have met with great Encouragement 'since his Lordship came here for Governor; '(meaning the Lord *Cornbury*, who oppressed the 'People sorely.) But there has never so successful a 'Stand

* A Man of War was then lying at York, ready to sail Convoy for England. ‡ Note, he did not profess with us, but was almost one in Principle.

'Stand been made againſt it as at this Time: And 'now, they threaten to ſend you to *England* chained 'to the Man of War's Deck: Fear not, *Samuel, adds 'he*, they can no more ſend you there than they can 'ſend me; for the Law both here and in *England* 'is ſuch, that every Criminal muſt be tried where 'the Cauſe of Action is; elſe, why in *England* do 'they remove Criminals from one County to ano-'ther to take their Trials where the Offence was 'committed? But you may, after the Judgment of 'the Court is given againſt you, bring your Appeal 'againſt that Judgment; and you ſecuring the Pay-'ment of ſuch Fees as are commonly allowed in the 'like Caſe, they dare not deny your Appeal. But 'the Judge frets becauſe he cannot have his End a-'gainſt you: And beſides, the Governor is diſguſt-'ed alſo, he expecting to have made conſiderable 'Advantage by it; but the Country's Eyes are now 'opened, and you are not now alone, but it is the 'Cauſe of every Subject; and they will never be able 'now to get a Jury to anſwer their End, the Eyes 'of the Country are ſo clearly opened by your Caſe. 'Had, *ſays he*, the *Preſbyterians* ſtood as you have 'done, they had not ſo tamely left their Meeting-'houſes to the Church: But that People had never 'ſo good a Hand at Suffering in the Cauſe of Conſci-'ence, as they have had in perſecuting others that 'differed from them.' Here he blamed that People very much, for being ſo compliable to all the Claims of the Governor, although never ſo unreaſonable and againſt Law.

And

And this honeſt Man, as if he had been ſent by divine Commiſſion, by his Diſcourſe raiſed my drooping Spirits, renewed my Faith, and I was quite another Man: And as he ſaid, ſo it proved. They could not get the next Jury to find the Bill againſt me.

But to return, I could never get a Copy of the *Mittimus* or Indictment againſt me, but the Judge gave the Sheriff Orders to keep me more cloſe. And I was accordingly put up in a ſmall Room made of Logs, which had been proteſted againſt as an unlawful Priſon two Years before; but that made no Difference: I was lock'd up there, and my Friends denied coming to me. I was now adviſed to *demand my Liberty, as a Right due by Law*, and I did ſo; but it was denied me, without ſhewing any other Reaſon, than that I might thank the Gand-Jury for my then Confinement. It was likewiſe thought proper to lay the Caſe before the Governor by *Petition*, and demand my Liberty of him alſo; which Petition is omitted for Brevity's Sake. But all was in vain, for they were reſolved not to be ſo baffled by the Country, they ſaid, but they would bring me to Juſtice. And *Keith* printed ſome Sheets, pretending to open the Eyes of the People, ſaying, that *I had reproached the Church, the Ordinances and Government*; aggravating the Caſe to the higheſt. But what he printed with a Deſign to make my Caſe appear the worſe, had quite the contrary Effect upon the People, it being look'd upon as no other than the Product of Envy and Revenge againſt the *Quakers* in general, and me in particular.

However,

However, that Court was adjourn'd for six Weeks; and finding myself more closely confined than before, and not knowing when or how it would end, I began to be very thoughtful what Method to take, not to be chargeable to my Friends: And as I was full of Thought on my Pillow about the Matter, it came into my Mind to try if I could learn to make Shoes; and applying myself to a *Scotch* Churchman in the Neighbourhood, one *Charles Williams*, a good natured Man, I made a Proposal to buy a Pair of Shoes of him, cut out for me to make up, and to give him the same Price as if made, withal desiring him to let me have Materials and Tools to go on with the Work, requesting that he would be so kind as to shew me how to begin and proceed in it: I acquainted him with my Reason for so doing. He replied, it is very honest and honourable in you; But, added he, if one of our Ministers was in the like State, they would think it too mean for them to take up such a diminutive Practice, though it were for Bread: And your Friends perhaps will not like it. However, he readily fell in with me, that if I could get my Bread with my own Hands, it was most agreeable with *Paul*'s Practice; and accordingly next Morning he brought me Leather cut out, with Materials and Tools to Work with, and with his Direction I closed one of the Upper-leathers before he left me, and he put it on the Last for me, and by Night I finished that Shoe; which when he came to see, he admired it was so well done, shewing me how to mend the Faults in the next, which I finished the next Day; He then supposed I had done

something

something at the Trade before, but was mistaken: And when I would have paid him, he refused it, and told me, he would not take any Money of me; so I proposed, that if he would give the Leather, I would give my Work; and so by Consent we gave the Shoes to a poor honest Man that did go on Errands for us both. I had then more Work of him, and he was so pleased with it, that he would allow me half Pay for making it up, and was so forward to advance my Wages in a few Weeks, that unless I would take full Pay, he chearfully told me, I must look out for another Master: I as pleasantly replied, I did not desire to change: Well then, replied he, I sell the Shoes you make, for as much as any of the like Sizes made in my Shop.

I made such Improvement in this Business that I could in a little Time earn fifteen Shillings per Week, being three Shillings their Money for making a Pair of large Man's Shoes, which was my chief Work. Now their Shilling was about Nine-pence Sterling. This new Trade was of very great Service to me, by both diverting Body and Mind; and finding I now could supply my own Wants with my own Hands, it gave me great Ease indeed: But some Friends were uneasy that I should do it, as supposing it would be to their Dishonour; but others again were glad, and thought it a great Honour to the Cause of the Gospel; and they rejoyced with thankful Hearts that I succeeded so well.

Going on thus some Weeks, my kind Master came one Morning, and did not bring so much Work as before. I asked him the Reason? adding pleasantly, What

What doth my Credit ſink, that I have no more brought? He ſmiling ſaid! It's not beſt to truſt Goal Birds too far, and I am now reſolved you ſhall work no more for me after theſe I have now brought. Why! what is the Matter? ſaid I. He added, you ſhall be a Maſter as well as I. How Can that be? ſaid I. He replied, you ſhall have Leather of your own, and by doing that, you may get Eight-pence, Ten-pence or a Shilling a Pair more profit than you do now. But I told him I had rather Work Journey-work for him than do ſo: For I knew not how to get Leather and other Materials, and when I had it, I was a Stranger to the cutting it out. Trouble not yourſelf about that, ſaid he, for I will do all this for you: And ſo he did with much Chearfulneſs, delighting to ſerve me effectually.

I went on thus for ſeveral Months, and he came to me every Day once or twice, and was a very chearful, pleaſant temper'd Man, but too much addicted to take delight in ſome of his Neighbours Company, who too often were diſguiſed with ſtrong Liquor, and he would often ſay, if you were to continue here, I ſhould overcome it, and I verily believe ſhould be a ſober *Quaker*. I told him he muſt leave the Company he too much frequented; which he not Obſerving, I heard afterwards they proved very hurtful to him. We had very often ſerious Converſation about Religion, and it appeared to me, he had been favoured with an enlightned Underſtanding, and would confeſs, if there was any ſuch Thing as preaching Chriſt truly, it was amongſt the *Quakers*; for both *Churchmen*, *Preſbyterians*, *Independents*, and others,

all

all preach *themſelves*, and for their own Advantage in this World; ſo that if there was *no Pay*, there would be *no Preaching*. He frequently attended our Meetings for a Time.

But to return to the Proceedings of the Court, which adjourn'd from the *4th* Day of the *Firſt-Month* 1702-3, for about ſix Weeks, and ſo continued by ſeveral Adjournments to the laſt Day of the *Eighth-Month* following. The Occaſion of theſe Adjournments was this; Judge *Bridges* was ill, and had been for ſome time declining, but was expected to be able to attend the Service of the Court, and take Vengeance on me and the *Quakers*, none being thought ſo fit for that Work as he; yet he never did, but died ſome Months before I was ſet at Liberty.

I had in this Time of Confinement ſundry Viſits, two of which were more remarkable than the reſt. The firſt was by an *Indian* King, with three of his chief Men with him; and the other by one *John Rogers* from *New-London*, and he ſtaid with me from the Time he came about ſix Days. An Abſtract of both Conferences are as follow, *viz.*

I ſhall firſt take Notice of the Conference with the *Indian* King, as he ſtiled himſelf; but his Nation was much waſted and almoſt extinct, ſo that he had but a ſmall People to rule. However, there was in him ſome Marks of Superiority above the other three who attended him, who ſhew'd ſome Regard to him as their Sovereign.

This *Indian*, with theſe his Attendants, came to viſit me, and ſtaid ſome Time, enquiring the Cauſe of

of my Confinement: An Account of which I gave them as intelligibly as I could, finding they understood *Engliſh* better than they could ſpeak it. The Conference was moſtly between the King and me, the reſt but very ſeldom put in a Word.

The King aſked, *if I was a* Chriſtian? I told him I was. *And are they*, ſaid he, Chriſtians *too that keep you here?* I ſaid they profeſſed themſelves to be ſo. Then he and his Company ſhewed their Admiration, that one *Chriſtian* could do thus to another. And then he enquired concerning the Difference between me and them. I replied, it conſiſted of ſundry Particulars. *Firſt*, my Adverſaries hold with ſprinkling a little Water on the Face of an Infant, uſing a Form of Words, and the Ceremony of making the Sign of a Croſs with their Finger on the Babe's Forehead, Calling this *Baptiſm*, and urging it as *eſſential* to future Happineſs: And I, with my Brethren, can ſee no Good in this Ceremony. Here they talked one with another again, but I underſtood them not. After which they aſked me, *if I thought there was nothing in this Ceremony of Good to ſecure our future Happineſs?* I ſaid, I ſee Nothing of good in it. *I was right*, they ſaid, *neither do we*: Aſking, *wherein do you further differ from them?* I proceeded, That they held it needful to take at certain Times, a Piece of Bread to eat, with a ſmall Quantity of *Wine* to drink after 'tis conſecrated, as they call it,' which they pretend to do in Remembrance of Chriſt our Saviour, urging this as *neceſſary* to our future Happineſs as the former, calling this the *Lord's-Supper*. He told me, that they had ſeen

both

both these Ceremonies put in Practice by the *Presbyterians*, but could not understand, if it was a *Supper*, why they used it in the *Middle of the Day*; but they look'd upon them both as very insignificant to the End proposed; saying, *The* * *Mang Monettay look'd at the Heart, how it was devoted, and not at these Childish Things.* Asking, *wherein do you differ further from them?* I proceeded, that they held it *lawful* to kill and destroy their Enemies; but we cannot think that good and right in us; but rather endeavour to overcome our Enemies with courteous and friendly Offices and Kindness, and to asswage their Wrath by Mildness and Persuasion, and bring them to consider the Injury they are doing to such as can't in Conscience revenge themselves again. He assented, *that this was good*: *But who can do it?* said he; *when my Enemies seek my Life, how can I do other than use my Endeavour to destroy them in my own Defence?* My Answer was, That unless we were under the Government of a better Spirit than our Enemies, we could not do it; but if we are under the Government of the good Spirit, which seeks not to destroy Mens Lives but to save them, and teaches us to do Good for Evil, and to forgive Injuries, then we can submit to *Providence*, putting our Trust in the great God to save us from the Violence and Wrath of our Enemies. The King said, *Indeed this is very good; but do you do thus when provoked by your Enemies?* I said, sundry of our Friends had done so, and been saved from the Rage of their Enemies, who have confessed our Friends to be good Men. *Ay*, said he,

* The great God they frequently called so.

they are good indeed; for if all came into this Way, there would then be no more need of War, nor killing one the other to enlarge their Kingdoms, nor one Nation want to overcome the other. I then aſked him, if this was not a right Principle; and what would much add to the Happineſs of Mankind? They all four ſaid, *it was very good indeed; but feared few would embrace this Doctrine.* I ſaid, all Things have their Beginings, and 'tis now our Duty to embrace this Truth, hoping that others by this Example may do the ſame. They lifted up their Eyes as a Token of their Aſſent, ſhewing by their Words their Deſire that this good Spirit might prevail in the World: *Then,* ſaid they, *Things will go well. But wherein,* added he, *do you differ more from them?* I ſaid, we held it unlawful to *ſwear* in any Caſe; but our Adverſaries did not. I found they had not any Notion about Oaths, and ſo they dropt it, being deſirous of introducing another Subject; for having obſerved our Friends Behaviour in not pulling off their Hats as others did, they wanted to know *our Reaſons for it:* I ſaid, uncovering our Heads was a Token of Honour we paid to the great God in our Prayers to him; and we thought any Homage equal to it ought not to be given to any of his Creatures. They ſaid, *it was all very good.* Then we ſat ſilent ſome Time; and I aſked them, what they thought of the *Great God?* One of them took a Piece of a Wood Coal from the Hearth, like Charcole half burnt, and made a black Circle therewith on the Hearth-ſtone, and ſaid, *they believed the Great God,* (or *Monettay,* as they then call'd him) *to be all Eye, that he ſaw every Thing at once; and all Ear,*

Ear, that he heard every Thing in like Manner; and all Mind, that he knew all Things, and Nothing could be hid from his Sight, Hearing, or Knowledge. Then I asked, what they thought of the *Devil?* (or bad *Monettay*, as they called him.) They said, they did not look upon his Power *independant* from the *good Monettay*, but that what he did was by *Permission*; nor indeed did they think he had any Power at all, but what was given or suffered for him to exercise over *Indians*, to bring about some good Designs of the *good Monettay* for their Advantage, to reclaim them when they were bad, and displeased the *good Monettay:* For they believed the *good Monettay* had all Power, yet he employed his Servants or Angels, as we Term them, to execute his Will. And the *Indian* that made the Circle, described four several small Circles on the Edge of the great one, and they shewed their Opinion how their little Gods were employed to chastize the *Indians* when bad, and to comfort and encourage them in Good: They likewise supposed the four small Circles to answer to the four Quarters of the World; that they had Inferiors under them again to execute their Will when they received a Commission from that *great Mind*; but that all derived their Power from the *supreme Eye, Ear*, and *Mind*; demonstrating their Meaning by Comparison thus: As supposing the *Indians* bad, the good Monettay *sees it*, and he gives Orders to that in the North, and by him to them under him, whereby we are by hard Frosts, great Snows, and cold Winds in the Winter, very much afflicted with want of Food, and with Cold; and in the Summer, either

extream Heat or Wet prevent the Fruits of the Earth from coming to Perfection, until we be made *humble* and *good:* Then we pray for Relief, and Commiſſion is given to the *Monettay* in the South, and by him to them under him, whereby we have warm Winds, and pleaſant Rains in the Spring, that makes *Yeo-Cod* (meaning Bucks) eaſy to be taken, and Fat, *&c.* And in the Summer, fruitful good Weather, neither too wet nor too dry. Thus they account for all reigning Diſtempers, and common Calamities by Sickneſs or Famine; and on the other Side, Health and Plenty, *&c.* So in like Manner for War and Peace, *viz.* When two Nations are both wicked, they are *ſtirred up* to deſtroy each other, either by the *Devil*, or by ſome of theſe *Monettay*'s by him employed, *&c.* I then proceeded to query, *what Thoughts they had of a* Future State *after this Life?* Firſt deſiring to have their Opinion, *whether they did not think they had a Part in them that would never die?* Which they readily granted, and gave me their Opinion, what both the State of the good and bad *Indians* would be in the other World; that the *good Indians* would go into the South and South-Weſt, where it was very warm and pleaſant, and Plenty of all Things both for Pleaſure and Profit: As ſuppoſing, that they ſhould have the Delight of enjoying the Comforts of eating, drinking, hunting, and all other Pleaſures they enjoyed here, in a more agreeable Way to ſooth and pleaſe their Deſires, than ever they could in this World. Thus they deſcribed *Heaven*, as beſt ſuited their natural Senſes, endeavouring to inſtil into their Youth, as they ſaid, Principles

ciples of Virtue and Juſtice, that when they die, as to this World, they may be fit and worthy of this good Country or Heaven, where it always is ſerene and quiet, no Night, nor Winter in this brave pleaſant Country; but all Things are plenty, very good, well and comfortable. But then, the *wicked* and *bad Indians*, when they die, go into the North and North-Weſt, a Country extream cold, dark and unpleaſant; no Sun-ſhine; they endeavour to get ſomething to ſatisfy their Hunger, but can't, for the *Yeo-Cod* are very poor, and they can't catch them; ſo in this Extremity they deſire to die, but can't; nor can they find any Means to put an End to this miſerable and wretched Life, but they muſt continue in Sorrow and Trouble without any Hopes of End. Thus they deſcribed their Thoughts of a future State, either in Heaven or in Hell, according to their Notions of both.

I then turned my Diſcourſe and aſked them, *what they thought of a good Spirit that was preſent with them in their Mind?* (finding they had no Notion of Chriſt, as to his bodily Appearance) they readily acknowledged, that a *good Spirit* attended them, and did reprove, or make them ſorrowful when they *did badly:* They likewiſe did believe, the *bad Monettay*, or Devil, did perſwade them in their Minds *to Evil*, and the more they ſtrove againſt the Devil, and prayed for Stength, by and from the good and *great Monettay*, the more they prevailed over theſe evil and wicked Temptations of the Devil in their own Minds, which had, they ſaid, no Power to lead them into Evil, but by their *own Conſent*; nor could do

them any Hurt if they did not yield to his alluring and deceitful Temptations. I further enquired, *if all the* Indians *were much of the same Mind in these Matters?* but they could not resolve me.

I also enquired, *whether any amongst them were look'd upon as* Instructors, *more than others?* They said, no; but the Head of every Family ought to do their best Endeavours to instruct their Families, but it was neglected; yet they retained the Practice of coming all together once in a Year, and the Elder did advise the Younger, what their Parents and Elders had told them, and thus they transmitted the Knowledge of former Things from one Generation to another, by having them repeated in these Assemblies.

Here our Conference ended: And as I could treat them with some Refreshment, I did, which they thankfully received; and we parted in great Friendship and Love, after a Stay of one Night and almost two Days.

Some Weeks after this, *John Rogers*, a *Seventh-day Baptist*, from *New-London* in *New-England*, came near two Hundred Miles on purpose to visit me; he was the chief Elder of that Society called by other People *Quaker-Baptists*, as imagining (tho' falsly) that both in their Principles and Doctrines they seemed one with us; whereas they differed from us in these material Particulars, *viz.* About the *Seventh-day Sabbath*, and in making Use of Baptism in Water to grown Persons, after the Manner of other *Baptists*, and using the Ceremony of *Bread and Wine* as a Communion, and also of *anointing* the Sick with Oil:

Oil: Nor did they admit of the *Light of Truth*, or *Manifeſtation* of the *Spirit*, but only to Believers; alledging Scripture for the Whole. They bore a noble Teſtimony againſt *Fighting*, *Swearing*, *vain Complements*, and the *ſuperſtitious* Obſervation of Days, for which he had endured ſundry long Impriſonments, and other very great Sufferings beſides, both of Body and Goods. He was a Priſoner when *William Edmundſon* was in that Country, (ſee his Journal *Page* 90) and had by Sufferings obtained ſo compleat a Victory over his Oppoſers, that now they took no Notice of him, he might do and ſay what he pleaſed: But he thought himſelf, that he had carried his Oppoſition to the Obſervation of the *Firſt-day* as *a Sabbath* a little too far at Times, ſo that he would do all Sorts of Work, yea, drive Goods or Merchandize of ſundry Sorts in a Wheel-barrow, and expoſe them to Sale before the Pulpit, when the Prieſt was about the Middle of his Diſcourſe, if he was not hindered, which ſometimes, tho' but ſeldom, happened; and would do any other kind of Labour, letting the People know his Reaſons for ſo doing, was to expoſe their Ignorance and Superſtition in obſerving that Day, which had more of Law than Goſpel in it, for Chriſt was the true Sabbath of Believers; withal adding, *that he was raiſed up for that very End.* They admitted Women to *Speak* in their Meetings, (believing ſome qualified by the Gift of the Spirit for that Work) and ſometimes they had but very little ſaid in their Meetings, and ſometimes they were wholly ſilent, though not often; for they admitted any one, who wanted Information concerning the

meaning of any Text, to put the Queſtion, and it was then expounded and ſpoken to, as they underſtood it: Any one being admitted to ſhew his Diſſent, with his Reaſons for it: *Thus*, ſaid he, *we improve our Youth in Scripture Knowledge.* I aſked him, if they did not ſometimes carry their Difference in Sentiments too far to their Hurt? He acknowledged there was Danger in doing ſo, but they guarded againſt it as much as they could.

He gave me a large Account of the Conference he had with *William Edmundſon*, and told me that Nothing ever gave him ſo much Trouble and cloſe Uneaſineſs, as his oppoſing *William Edmundſon* at that Time did, deſiring me, if I lived to ſee *William Edmundſon*, to acquaint him with the ſincere Sorrow that he had upon his Mind for that Night's Work.

At my Return, I acquainted *William Edmundſon* therewith, who deſired me, if I lived to ſee him again, to let him know that it was the Truth *William Edmundſon* bore Teſtimony to that he oppoſed, and therefore it was no wonder that he was ſo much troubled for his fooliſh Attempt therein.

He gave me an Account of his Convincement and Converſion, which was very large, and although at firſt it was agreeable and very entertaining, yet by his ſpinning of it out ſo long, he made it diſagreeable, for he ſtaid with me five or ſix Days, and it was the greateſt Part of his Diſcourſe all that Time, although I did ſundry Times ſtart other Subjects, which he would ſoon get off, and go on about his own Experiences.

I queried, *why he was so very stiff about the* Seventh-day, and *whether, upon a mild Consideration of the Opposition he gave about their Sabbath, it was not by him carried too far?* He acknowledged, that he did not at first see clearly into the true Meaning of the Sabbath, but that the Provocations he met with from the Priests, (who stirred up the People and Mob against him) might sometimes urge him farther than he was afterwards easy with, in opposing them; but when he kept his Place, he had inexpressible Comfort and Peace in what he did; adding, *that the Wrath of Man works not the Righteousness of God.*

I queried with him, *why they kept to the Use of Bread and Wine, and plunging or dipping into Water, since he taught his People to put no Confidence in those Ceremonies, by supposing any Virtue or Holiness in them?* He replied, that they did it for the Sake of those who were weak in Faith; adding, that if our Friends had taken those two Sacraments along with them, they would have driven all before them. This led us into a long Conference, the Substance of which was to the Effect following.

He spoke very much of his Satisfaction and Unity with *George Fox*, *John Stubbs*, *John Burnyeat*, and *William Edmundson*, as the Lord's Servants, with sundry others of the first Visitors of that Country; that he knew them to be sent of God, and that they had carried the Reformation farther than any of the *Protestants* ever did before them, since the general Apostacy from the Purity both of Faith and Doctrine; *first*, the Church of *England*, they did Nothing

thing in the End but made an *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the *Latin* Service uſed before; the *Preſbyterians* they diſſented, and the *Independants*, but came not to the Root of the Matter; the *Baptiſts* diſſented from all the other three, but went not through. Upon which, tho' I could not wholly agree with him in his Aſſertions, I queried, if he thought that all theſe ſeveral Steps of the *Engliſh* Church from *Popery*, the *Preſbyterians* and *Independants* from the *Engliſh* Church, and the *Baptiſts* from all three of them, had not ſomething of Good in them? *viz.* I mean, whether the firſt concerned in diſſenting from *Popery*, though they afterwards reſted too much in the Form of Worſhip in the *Epiſcopal* Way, had not the Aid of Chriſt's Spirit to aſſiſt them in their Diſſent? and ſo for all the reſt. This he did readily grant to be a great Truth; and ſo allowing, that the firſt Reformers were acted by *divine Light*, and being faithful to what was made known to them, had their Reward; and their Succeſſors ſat down in that Form their Predeceſſors left them in, but did not regard that Power and Life by which they were acted, and ſo became Zealots for that *Form*, but oppoſed the *Power*. And this, ſaid he, is the true Cauſe of the ſeveral Steps of *Diſſent* one from another; and the Reaſon why there is ſo little *Chriſtian* Love, and ſo much Bitterneſs and Envy one againſt another, is their ſetting down contented, each in their *own Form*, without the *Power*, ſo that they are all in one and the ſame Spirit, acting their Part in the ſeveral Forms of Worſhip in their own Wills and Time, not only oppoſing the Spirit of Truth, but making it the *Ob-*

ject

ject of their Scorn, and those who adhere to it the *Subject* of their Reproach, Contempt, and Envy: And this is the Foundation of Persecution, said he. But we shall, said I, digress too far from what we had in View: Thou allowest the aforementioned Friends to be *Servants of Christ*, and guided by his Word, and that they advanced the Reformation higher than any had done before them; and 'tis plain they had a Concern to lay aside *Fighting*, *Swearing*, *vain Compliments*, as well as *Baptism* and *Bread* and *Wine*, these *two Sacraments*, as you call them; and as you continue in the Practice of them, it must be in your *own Will*, and not in the Will of God, by thy own Confession. *How dost thou*, said he, *make that out?* Thus, said I; *first*, Thou allowest those of our Friends to be true Ministers, and declarest thy Unity with them as such, and they had a Concern to draw Peoples Minds from depending upon these *Shadows* to trust in the *Substance:* Now how could this be so effectually done, as by perswading the People to *discontinue* the Use of those *Shadows?* for whilst they did use them, though at the same Time they were told, there was *Nothing in them*, yet weak Minds would still retain some Regard, as though they had some *real* Good in them, when in Truth there *was none.* But if our Friends had a Concern from the Lord *to do this*, how canst thou in Reason suppose, that by the same Spirit you had a Concern from the Lord to *continue* in the Performance of them, unless thou wilt suppose *contradictory* Pinciples and Doctrines proceed from that good Spirit; which I hope is far from thy Thoughts. *Yea*, said he, *so*

that

that is indeed. Adding, we do not act so, for we say as you do, that *there's Nothing in these Ceremonies but a Sign*; it is the Power of an endless Life that we perswade them to seek for *in themselves*, and not to look on these as any Advantage in a spiritual Sense at all. Then, said I, you had better do as we do, *wholly lay them aside*; pray remember the *brazen Serpent* that proved a Snare to *Israel*, said I: But he would not yield to this. Then I asked him, if he thought *either* of these Ceremonies of more Use than the other? *No*, replied he; set one aside, and set both, for there is no more Virtue in one than the other. I then queried with him, if ever he had seen a small Treatise entituled the *Doctrine of Baptisms*, wrote in *Cromwell*'s Time by one *William Dell*? he never heard of such a Book, he said. I had it by me, and turning to the Preface in the last Paragraph, where the Author in a prophetick Way has these Words, 'But because I see this present Generation so rooted 'and built up in the Doctrine of Men, I have the 'less Hope that *this Truth* will prevail with them; 'and therefore I appeal to the next Generation, 'which will be farther removed from these Evils, 'and will be brought nearer to the Word, but espe-'cially to that People whom God hath, and shall 'form *by his Spirit* for himself, for these only will 'be able to make just and righteous Judgment in 'this Matter, seeing they have the *Anointing* to be 'their *Teacher*, and the *Lamb* to be their *Light*.' Having read this Paragraph, he took the Book and read it to himself, and was silent until I observed to him, that the Author plainly pointed at *our People*.

He

He allowed there was *Reaſon* ſo to think. By this Time it was late, and I deſired him to take the Book, read and conſider it, and let me have his Thoughts the next Day. So for that Time we parted, and he came not till late in the Afternoon next Day, altho' he lodged hard by the Place of my Confinement. And when he came, told me he had read it carefully, and conſidered it cloſely, confeſſing that it was the Language of *the Spirit*, and *true Doctrine*. I told him, now I hoped that he was ſatisfied, that it was moſt ſafe for them to lay theſe *Shadows* aſide, and labour to bring their People to the *Subſtance*. He allowed that it might be *proper to do ſo*. But, added he, it muſt be done with great Care and Tenderneſs, leſt ſome ſhould be *hurt* by it. To which I replied, they would be more in Danger to be *hurt* by following theſe *ſhadowy Obſervations*, in which they could have no Benefit, and continuing in them might be a Means to lead them into *Superſtition* and *Idolatry*, and make them ſit down and take their Reſt in the *Shadows*, and ſeek no farther.

Having ſaid what we could, both of us dropt it by Conſent; and after ſome ſhort Pauſe (for he could not long be ſilent) we fell on the Subject of *Election* and *Reprobation*, he aſſerting, that ſaving Light and Grace was only given to the *Elect*, or *true Believers*, and the reſt were *blinded*. I alledged the *contrary*: That an *Offer* of divine Love was made *to all*, but *all* did not make good Uſe of it: So to Argument we went, and I requeſted the Reaſon for his Belief in this Doctrine? deſiring him firſt to explain himſelf, whether he thought that Reprobates were from their

their Cradles or Births *so fixed*, that no Means ordained could *alter* it? He paused some Time, and at last said, all Things with God are *possible*; but from the Doctrine of *Paul*, *Rom.* ix. it plainly appears, *says he*, to be so, and that God is glorified by both, as in the Case of *Pharoah*. I replied, *Pharoah*'s Case could not properly be adapted to this Doctrine, because it was in itself peculiarly intended for the *convincing* of the *Egyptians*, as well as the *rest* of Mankind, that he (GOD) was the only *All Powerful God*, worthy of Obedience, and that the Life and Power of Kings was in him; and to confirm that weak People the *Jews*, that if they leaned upon *that God* who had done all this before their Eyes, they need not fear the *Wrath of Kings*, though accompanied with *strong* and *numerous Armies*; for God, who had chosen them, could soon overthrow their Enemies, and save them by a mighty Deliverance from their Rage and Wrath: But how this can be brought to support *Election* and *Reprobation* as now it's understood, and preach'd up by sundry pretended Teachers, *I see not*: I therefore desire that thou wouldst explain it as thou understands it. He then proceeded as follows; first calling for the Book, and turning to the Text, *Rom.* ix. he began at the 10th Verse, and went on, expounding very strongly and undeniably, in his own View, to the the 21st Verse, continuing his Expositions to an uncommon Length; all which I heard with a profound Silence, and he became silent too at last, and we sat in Silence some time, and then I spoke to the Effect following: That as it appeared to me, the 22d

Verse

Verſe took off much of the Edge of what he had ſaid with reſpect to *Reprobation*; which I read, and he confeſt it did pretty much ſo. I further added, that the Doctrine of *Election* and *Reprobation*, in the Way it is now expounded by thee, is very injurious, in reflecting on the infinite Mercy of God, and point blank *oppoſing* the chief End of the Goſpel, and coming of our Saviour, *who taſted Death for every Man*, and offers Life by his good Spirit and Grace *to all*. Beſides thy Way of expounding the Apoſtle in this Epiſtle, makes him quite contradict himſelf in other Places, where he clearly ſets forth the Love of God by and through Chriſt, to be *univerſally* offered both to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in order to Salvation: And laſt of all, as thou haſt explained thyſelf now upon this Doctrine thou *renders* that great Duty of Prayer almoſt *impertinent*, if not quite *uſeleſs*, with all other *religious Endeavours*, &c. ſo that if thou canſt not make it out otherwiſe than this is, I may, I think, without any Breach of Charity, conclude thee *unſound* in thy Faith and Doctrine of the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who *died for all Men*, and was by his Apoſtles preach'd the *Saviour of the World* to both *Jews* and *Greeks*: Therefore we muſt expound *Paul* in *Rom.* ix. after another Manner, ſo as to reconcile *Paul* with himſelf, where he plainly ſhews, God *wills all Men* to be ſaved, and to come to the Knowledge of the Truth, as in the ſecond of the firſt of *Timothy*, and abundantly elſewhere, that we have already touched upon: But if thou wilt give me Leave, without Interruption, I will give thee my Thoughts on this Subject, which in ſhort are theſe, *viz.*

It is beyond all Doubt or Queſtion with me, that God *wills all Men to be ſaved*; and to compleat his Will, and Offers of Salvation to all, he has ordained the Means to *procure* the End by his own Son, who taſted Death *for every Man*, whereby *all* have it put into their Power, as free Agents, to make Choice for themſelves, by applying to the Means ordained by God thro'his Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, for the *obtaining* that which he has *willed for them*, *viz.* Salvation! Now, if this is true, as the Scriptures aſſert, and our own Experience confirms it to ourſelves, then it follows, that *all* who are diligent, through the *Obedience* of Faith, endeavouring to make their Calling and Election ſure, by applying to the Means ordained of God, (*viz.* that Grace and Truth that is come by Jeſus Chriſt) for the obtaining that which he has *willed for them*, as I have ſaid, we may ſafely conclude *all* in this State, to be the Elect of God in Chriſt. But then *all* who contrary to this, neglect and ſlight, nay, ſuffer me to ſay, *rebel* againſt the inward Convictions of Grace and Truth in their own Minds, (which is the *only* Guide and Rule for doing better) and continue herein until they are left and harden'd in their Sins and Wickedneſs, being given up to a Reprobate Mind, having their Conſciences ſeared with an hot Iron, are paſt *feeling* of any Remorſe for their ungodly Deeds. Theſe I take to be in a *Reprobate Condition*, and this Reprobation is *of themſelves*, they having *choſen* it; for they had the Offers of the ſame Grace and Truth to aſſiſt them to do better, as the Elect have had, but would not apply themſelves thereto, but did wilfully

wilfully *reject* it. Now all this thou knoweſt may be fairly proved by the Scriptures, and thou canſt, I think, do no otherwiſe than allow it to be *concluſive* to decide this Point; for 'tis plain, the firſt are the Children of God, made ſo by their *co-working* with the Spirit of Chriſt; and the other are Reprobates and Children of Antichriſt, made ſo by *their Rebellion* againſt the Spirit of Truth and *Obedience* to the Spirit of Error: And here I conclude with the Apoſtle's Words, *Rom.* ix. 22. *What if God, willing to ſhew his Wrath, and to make his Power known, endureth with much* long ſuffering *the Veſſels of Wrath,* (by their own Rebellion) *fitted to Deſtruction?*

Here we cloſed up the Diſcourſe; and now I ſhall go on with my Impriſonment and Clearing from the ſame.

About the Beginning of the *Eighth-Month* 1703, the Sheriff had an Order to call or warn eighteen Men for a Jury, to try their Succeſs a ſecond Time: But whether they went upon the old Indictment or a new one, I could not underſtand, but it was thought by ſome of the laſt Jury, to be the ſame Indictment that the firſt Jury went upon; but I was never admitted to ſee it: The Sheriff had private Inſtructions to get ſuch Men put into the Jury, as they thought would anſwer their End, which he ſhewed me with *Abhorrence*, aſſuring me, he would never do it; ſo the Jury was fairly named, and they made no great Matter about it, but in a ſhort Time (as their Predeceſſors had done before them) they came in with their

Bill, ſigned *Ignoramus*; which gave ſome of the Lawyers Cauſe to ſay, in a jocular Way, they were got into an *Ignoramus Country*.

This was on the ſecond Day of the *Ninth-Month*, and the Court adjourned to the next Day, at which Time I was had into Court; which I was told, was not regular nor lawful to bring a Man to the Bar that had nothing laid to his Charge by his Peers, the grand Inqueſt; however, I was aſked, *if I had any Thing to offer to the Court?* I deſired my Liberty, and Reparation for the Wrong done me in taking it from me *&c:* The Judge told me, *I might have my Liberty, paying my Fees.* I replied, that I was informed there was no Fees due, as the Caſe then was, according to Law; but if there had, I ſhould not pay any, it being to me a Matter of Conſcience. The Judge ſaid, *He believed ſo*, and ſmiled, ſpeaking ſomething to thoſe near him, that was not heard by me: However I was ſet at Liberty *by Proclamation*; and a large Body of my dear Friends, from all Parts of the Iſland, came to ſee me Cleared, and had me away with them in a kind of Triumph, not being a little glad that I came off ſo honourably; and even the Country People who were not Friends, were there in abundance, and rejoiced exceedingly at my Enlargement.

I was now at liberty, after having been a Priſoner one Year wanting three Weeks and about two Days; but having not Freedom to go away, I ſtaid ſome Time, viſiting every Corner of the Iſland, and had very large and open Meetings: The People were thoroughly alarmed, ſo that I found by Experience, that

that my long Impriſonment had made me more popular and regarded, ſo that they flocked in great Numbers to where I was, and Friends were careful that they ſhould have Notice. They appointed a Meeting for me at a Place called *Cow-neck*, at one *Jacob Doughty*'s, there not having been any at that Place before; and as I lay in Bed at my dear Friend *John Rodman*'s at the *Bay-ſide*, the Night before, I dreamt that an honeſt Friend was fiſhing in a large Stone Ciſtern, with a crooked Pin for his Hook, a ſmall ſwitch Stick for his Rod, and a Piece of Thread for his Line; and *George Fox* came and told me, that there were three Fiſhes in that Place, and deſired me to take the Tackling of the Friend, for that he wanted Skill to handle the Matter: Accordingly, methought he (the Friend) gave me the Rod, and the firſt Time that I threw in I caught a fine Fiſh: *George Fox* bid me try again, for there were two more in that Place; I did, and took up another: He bid me caſt in my Hook once more; I did, and took the Third: *Now*, ſaid *George*, *there is no more there*. This Dream was taken from me as if I had not dreamt at all. The next Day we went to the Meeting, and were a little late, by Reaſon the Tide and high Freſh-water obliged us to ride the fartheſt Way, and when we came into Meeting a Friend was preaching on *univerſal Grace*; but in a little Time he left off, and my Heart being full of the Matter, I took it up, and we had a bleſſed powerful Meeting, and all ended well.

I returned with my Friend *Rodman* to his Houſe, and in our Way my Dream came freſh into my Me-

mory, and that Evening I told it to my Friend *Rodman*, and gave him a Deſcription of *George Fox*'s Features and Bulk, as he appeared to me; and he ſaid, I had a very juſt and right Apprehenſion of him. He had been much with *George Fox* when he was in *Barbadoes*, and was well acquainted with him; adding, this remarkable Dream ſhews ſome Good done there * *this Day*.

Now after I was clear of *Long-Iſland*, (it being juſt with me as if I had been to ſet out from Home) I found it of Neceſſity to convene the Elders, and lay before them my Concern, as I did when I came from Home; and in a tender and fatherly Way they took care to examine what I might be in need of, both with reſpect to Linen, Woolen, Pocket-Money, and a Horſe; (for as yet I had not bought one, never finding Freedom ſo to do): But Friends, to their Praiſe be it ſpoken, aſſiſted me from Stage to Stage, and when I was in Priſon I ſaw I had no want of a Horſe, and admired the Kindneſs of Providence in reſtraining me from having one till wanted: And I had Money plenty by the Trade of *Shoe-making*, ſo that I wanted none, nor did I want any Neceſſaries for the Journey but a Companion, and then ſundry offered themſelves very freely to travel with me: But my dear Friend *Samuel Bowne* had a Concern to viſit the Eaſtern Parts of *New-England*, who had a fine Gift, but not very large; I was very glad of his Company, ſo we ſet forward in the Beginning of the *Twelfth-Month*, and the Winter not being broke up, we

* There's a large Meeting ſince ſettled there.

we rode over the Ice in ſundry Places in *Connecticut* Colony, ſome narrow and ſome broad Rivers, *New-London*, the biggeſt, but we had no Meetings for near two Hundred Miles: The People being moſtly rigid *Preſbyterians*, counted it a great Crime to be at a *Quakers* Meeting, eſpecially on the *Sabbath-day*, as they Term the *Firſt-day* of the Week. But coming into *Narraganſet*, we were amongſt Friends again. So we went for *Rhode-Iſland*, and there Friends were very numerous, and we had large Meetings indeed: There was a Marriage of a young Man (his Name was *Richardſon*) with a Daughter of *Thomas Rodman*, a Man of the firſt Rank in the Iſland, ſo that we had the Governor, (his Name was *Samuel Cranſton*) and moſt of the chief Men in the Government at the Marriage, and we had a precious living Time, which gave me great Encouragement. The Governor was very kind, and queried with me about my Impriſonment, he being a great Lover of Friends, but not a profeſt one himſelf.

From *Rhode-Iſland* we went pretty ſtrait towards *Hampton* and *Dover*, having ſome Meetings, but few, by reaſon we purpoſed to return to the Yearly-Meeting in *Rhode-Iſland*.

When we came to *Dover*, we had a pretty large Meeting, but we were both ſilent, at which I was ſomewhat amazed, it being new to me: However, another Meeting was appointed next Day, ſome little Diſtance from *Dover*, which was much larger: My Companion ſaid ſomething, but very little, and was uneaſy that he ſaid any Thing: I was quite ſhut up, and after Meeting I was exceedingly comforted,

being filled with divine Sweetneſs and heavenly Joy, that I was preſerved, and did not force myſelf to offer. They appointed another Meeting the Day following, ſome Diſtance off, at which I found myſelf quite ſhut up, and held back as it were, from ſaying any Thing, and my Companion was alſo ſilent, who after Meeting look'd upon me very innocently, ſaying, SAMUEL, *What doſt think theſe People will ſay, that we ſhould come ſo far to appoint Meetings amongſt them, and have Nothing to ſay?* It juſt then livingly came into my Mind to reply, *Fear not, have Faith, Nothing doubting but we ſhall have enough to ſay before we leave them.*

Our next Meeting was to be in the Center of the Meetings which we had before, in a conſiderable large Houſe, but not big enough for the Company by far, and the Country was all alarmed, ſo that it was a very large Meeting indeed; and it being War Time with the *Indians*, the People brought ſuch Weapons as they had to Meeting, ſo that when we came to the Meeting-houſe, I was ſurprized to ſee ſo many Fire-Arms, and other Inſtruments of War, ſtanding againſt the Meeting-houſe Wall. However, I was before told, that it was the Cuſtom of other People to do ſo; and I found that thoſe Fire-Arms, and warlike Weapons belonged to other People, not Friends, that were come to Meeting: A large Meeting it was indeed, and very quiet; we ſat a long Time in Silence, which put me on examining my Conduct, and looking back to ſee how it was with me; but finding no Cauſe of Uneaſineſs from any Thing I had done before, to cauſe me to

be

be thus ſhut up, I came to this Concluſion and Reſignation, that *I was but a Servant, and could of myſelf do Nothing*; ſecretly praying that the Lord would give me Patience not to be uneaſy, if he had Nothing for me to do, and if he had, there I was ready and willing to do it: And thus I ſettled down, diligently waiting for divine Direction. And in a little Time a Word came with Life, (and I ſtood up with it) to the Effect following: 'The Lord's Time 'is the beſt Time, and let us not grow uneaſy to 'wait for it; for when he opens none can ſhut, and 'when he ſhuts none can open.' Enlarging on this Subject a little more; and we had a very glorious Meeting, in which I was largely opened in ſundry Branches of the Doctrine of Chriſt; and I had not ſeen very often greater Tenderneſs than was at that Time amongſt the People; for the War with the *Indians* had humbled them to ſuch a degree, that Truth had a very great Reach upon them indeed, and the Meeting ended well.

Immediately I found an uncommon and weighty Concern to requeſt the Miniſters to come together, which they very readily complied with, and they were an handſome Number, but not all thoroughly baptized into the Work. My Companion was very prettily opened, and we had a very ſuitable Service amonſt them, and ſaw clearly the Reaſon why we were ſo ſhut up in Silence; ſome of them were got into an Extream in Preaching and Praying, and would continue Meetings to an unſeaſonable Length, as likewiſe in their Preaching and Praying at Table; which gave great Uneaſineſs to ſome ſenſible Friends

amongſt them, but they could not redreſs it till after this Opportunity. They themſelves ſaw they were wrong in doing as they had done, and got out of this Extream, which was a Degree of *Ranteriſm*, being attended with a Spirit of Oppoſition againſt the Order of Friends in Monthly and Quarterly-Meetings.

Having finiſhed our Service, we returned back to *Hampton*, and had ſeveral Meetings, and ſo for *Rhode-Iſland* Yearly-Meeting, which was very large, and to good Satisfaction.

From thence I went by Sea to ſeveral Iſlands, as *Martha's Vineyard*, *Nantucket*, and ſome others; but in *Nantucket* I had great Satisfaction, for the People, not joined with Friends, were moderate *Baptiſts* and came generally to Meetings, their Preacher alſo with them, who after Meeting raiſed ſome Objections againſt us, that he had from our Adverſaries Books and that which he pitched upon moſtly, was about Prayer, that *we did not pray to God in the Name of Chriſt, but in our own Names.* I told him, we look'd upon it to be our Duty to pray to God in Chriſt's Name, and as his Name is underſtood to be *his Power*, we durſt not preſume to pray to the Father, but as the Wiſdom and Spirit of Chriſt gave us Utterance. He ſaid, *it was a Goſpel Truth in its primitive Purity.*

The Governor ſent for me, and we had a Time to confer about our Principles, and after a little Time he ſeemed much pleaſed with what I had to ſay: And having finiſhed my Service I returned to *Rhode-Iſland*, and found ſome were contriving to have

have me taken up, by informing the Governor against me, as tho' I was a Transgressor, by preaching, as they said, against *Baptism*, and the *Supper of the Lord*, as they call the Bread and Wine. But the Governor being at the Meeting himself where this supposed Offence was given, quickly saw that the Arguments used against the Present Practice of the *English* Church, as well as *Presbyterians* and *Baptists*, had so much Scripture and Reason on their Side, that it was vain to attempt to confute them; he therefore thought it their wisest Way to let it alone.

After this, I made another Trip to the *Eastward*, my dear Companion being returned, and visited in my Way back to *Dover*, Meetings as they came in course; and I visited all the Meetings, where I had been before, and had sat in Silence in some of them, but I had now large and good Service, and great Satisfaction amongst them, and the more so, as they now saw it their Places not to preach in every Meeting, but to wait for the Constraint of the divine Word before they spoke.

From thence I went to *Strawberry-Bank*, a Haven where much Shipping resorts for Masts, and when clear of those Parts, returned to *Hampton*, *Haverill*, *Exeter*, and sundry other Towns, where Meetings had not been kept, and amongst them to *Newbury*: A Man that lived in that Place, being newly convinced, was very desirous of a Meeting at his House, which I consented to; and when the Time came, his Wife, not being pleased that we came on the Account of a Meeting, would not permit us to enter the House, but kept the Doors lock'd against us, being,

being, as was ſaid, adviſed to it by ſome of their Teachers. I took a Turn round the Houſe, and happened to have ſome Conferrence with her at the Window, firſt aſſuring her, that we had no Deſign to put her Huſband to any Manner of Charge, but only to let us have Houſe-room for about two Hours to hold a Meeting; adding, that it did ill become a Wife to keep her Huſband out of his Houſe at ſuch a Time; promiſing her, that if ſhe would let in her Huſband, not one of our People ſhould come in with him. And by reaſoning the Caſe, ſhe, after a little while, opened the Door and would have us to go in, but I had not Freedom. Then the Place to hold the Meeting was got ready, being a large Place like a Barn, where the Friend and his Men built Boats for the Shipping, that being his Calling, and we ſat down, being a few Friends, and in a little Time many People came, amongſt whom, as it was ſaid, came ſix Preachers: And in ſome convenient Time a young Woman ſtood up who had a pretty Gift, but the People behaved very rudely, ſo that it put the poor Girl out of Countenance, and ſhe ſat down. Then ſtood up *Lydia Norton*, a famous Miniſter, none more ſo of that Country, and indeed ſhe had an excellent Gift, and knew how to conduct herſelf in it; but all this did not avail, the People grew worſe and worſe in their Behaviour; and *Lydia* having a very ſtrong manly Voice, extended it very loud, but all to no purpoſe, for the People were as loud as ſhe, calling for a Dram, and ſporting themſelves in their Folly, ſo ſhe ſat down; and a young Man, called *Joſhua Puddington*, ſtood up; they

they were rude to the Women, but worſe with him, raking up his former Faults, and calling for a Cann of Flip, for he could drink as well as they, they ſaid: And he having been a Companion with them in fiſhing, they made very free with him, ſo he ſhut up. By this Time the Meeting was exceeding numerous, and continued enlarging very much: It came into my Mind, to ſtand up and take out my Bible, which I did, (for I always travelled with one in thoſe Days, finding a conſiderable Service in it at times) and opened it, and put my Finger in it, as tho' I would take my Text, but I ſaid Nothing for ſome conſiderable Time, till all was quiet, for the People continued in a great Confuſion for a while, till ſome of them obſerved my Book; then they began to quiet and ſtill one another, urging as a Reaſon for it, that *I had the Word of God in my Hand*, ſuch a great Regard they paid to my Bible; and in a little Time all was quiet and ſtill: Then I opened my Mouth and ſaid, *Behold, I am an* Engliſhman; and enumerated the many Lands and Places I had travelled in, but had never met with any People of ſuch a Behaviour as theſe were; referring to them to adviſe me, *what Account I muſt give of the People of Newbury* at my Return into *England?* A good comely Gentleman-like Man, in Excuſe for the Behaviour of the People, ſaid, *Sir, as for Womens Preaching we hold it unlawful, becauſe St.* Paul *hath forbid it, therefore we think it not proper to give them a hearing: And as for the Man, we know him perhaps better than you, and can't think him qualified for that Undertaking; but you ſeem to be a Gentleman of Senſe, and we will hear*

hear you. I replied, that as for *Womens Preaching*, its allowed a disputable Point from *Paul*'s Words, yet nevertheless, if any of you are (after this Meeting is over) willing to hear what I have to say in Favour of it, I shall be willing to give you the best Account I can, why I think it is *lawful:* And if any of you can shew better Reasons against it, I shall as willingly hear them. And as for the young Man, I grant you may, as he is a Neighbour, have had a much better Knowledge of his former Conduct in Life, than I can pretend to; but allowing that he may have, in Time past, been loose, that argues not against giving him a Hearing: For how know you, but that as *Saul* did, he might condemn his past Life, and give you an Example, by his present Conduct, to *reform*; for which Reasons, you ought to have heard with Patience what he had to say to you. The same Gentleman replied, *I said very right, they ought to have heard him: But I pray you speak what you have to say freely, and I charge all present to make no Disturbance or Interruption, if they do, in the* Queen's Name *I will commit them.* By which Words I found he was in the Commission of the Peace: And then I began, 'That Religi-'on without Righteousness was useless, and could 'not profit those who profest it.' And going on, I came in the Course of my Service to recite the great Improvement true Religion made on the Minds of those who lived in it, in giving them Power over their Lusts and Passions, repeating that of *James* i. 26. *If any Man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his Tongue, but deceiveth his own Heart, this Man's Religion*

Religion is vain. One out of the Throng said, *Sir, you impose upon us, there's no such Text.* I made a full Stop, and turned to it; and there were many Bibles then appeared. I repeated Chapter and Verse, and they turned to it. Then I asked them, *if they had it?* They replied, *they had.* Then I read both the 26*th* and 27*th* Verses, and asked, *if it was so in their Bibles?* They answered that it was. I then desired them to consider, whether I that repeated the Text, or he that said there was no such Text, *was most in the right.* Then I went on with my Opening, carefully minding my Guide; and in the Course of the Doctrine I had in my View, I came to treat of *Faith*, and distinguished between *true* and *false* Faith, shewing, that notwithstanding we might give our Assent to the Truth of that called the *Apostles Creed*, or any other made and drawn up by Men, and that we might be zealous to dispute and contend for the Truth of these Creeds, in the wording Part of them; yet for all that, if we did not lead *Christian* Lives, we were still but *Unbelievers*; *for Faith without Works is dead*, the Text tells us, At which last Words one cries out, *you impose upon us, there's no such Text.* I immediately stop'd, and turned to it, and quoted it, and they all who had Bibles made Search. There being a profound Silence, I read the Text, asking, *if it was so in their Books?* They all replied, *it was.* I made the same Remark as before; and then I went on, distinguishing between *true* and *false* Faith, plainly demonstrating from Scripture, that Faith was much different from what many took it to be. And indeed Truth was eminently preached that Day, and there was a considerable

ſiderable Tenderneſs amongſt the People, and the Meeting ended well.

When I came out, the Gentleman came to me and I acknowledged his Kindneſs towards us; and it ſuddenly came before me to Speak with a loud Voice in the Street, and to deſire, that if any one was at a Loſs, and did not underſtand any Part of what I had ſaid, or thought I had ſpoken any Thing not agreeing to Scripture, I would then deſire them to let me know it, and not miſrepreſent any Thing I had ſaid when I was gone. the Gentleman made Anſwer on Behalf of the People thus; *None can have any Objection, for I never heard the Word better preached in my Time.* And then I told them I was ready to let them know my Reaſons, why I thought Women, properly and duly qualified, might preach *lawfully*, on Condition I might have their Reaſons to the contrary. The Gentleman, who undertook ſtill to ſpeak on Behalf of the Company (who ſtaid to hear and ſee) ſaid, *Here is none here will undertake to diſpute with you upon this or any other Point of Religion: But I deſire you will favour me with a Promiſe to have another meeting here, and I will get ſome of the beſt Writers the Country will afford, to take down your Sermon.* But he little knew, that this was no great Inducement to my coming there again: However he preſt it very cloſe, which I excuſed in the beſt manner I could, as not knowing that I ſhould or ſhould not: And after ſome earneſt preſſing of me to go to his Houſe to refreſh myſelf, which I likewiſe deſired to be excuſed in, by reaſon we gave Expectation to go to our Inn, and we could not ſtay much

much longer, becauſe Night was come upon us; we parted in good Reſpect and Harmony to all Appearance, and my Heart was filled with Thankfulneſs and Comfort that we got over that Day's Work ſo well.

Now being clear of theſe Parts I returned, viſiting the Meetings of Friends, and ſundry other Places, as in particular *Cape-Ann*, where I met with great Oppoſition; the Caſe was thus.

At *Cape-Ann* ſundry Friends were deſirous of a Meeting, and more ſo, becauſe that ſeveral young Men, who were Friends, reſided there while they built a Ship. Accordingly I went, and ſeveral Friends went with me, and we got there early on a *Seventh-day*, and gave Notice of a Meeting, which was to good Satisfaction, and it being a new Thing, it was very large; the People deſired another, which was granted: And between Meetings, ſome gave their Preacher Notice, who had but a ſmall Congregation that Day, adviſing him to look after his Flock, it being his Duty. Accordingly he came before the Meeting ended, with ſeveral of his Elders, and was very noiſy. Firſt, he would prove *Water Baptiſm*, from the Text, to be an *Ordinance* of Chriſt. I replied; what *Form* of Water Baptiſm would he prove ſo? To which he anſwered evaſively, not being willing to be tied to one more than another. But after ſome farther *Pro*'s and *Con*'s, he was by his own People preſt to vindicate his own Practice, which was *Sprinkling*. Then he ſaid, that was plainly proved by our Saviour's Words, *Suffer little Children to come unto me*, &c. I ſhewed him

his

his miſtake; that without Perverting that Text, it could not be applied to *ſprinkling* of Infants in any wiſe: But our Saviour's Words in that Place refered to the State of *Innocency* that ſuch ſhould experience, to be like little Children in their Minds, as free from all Manner of Vice and Wickedneſs, before they were fit and prepared for the Kingdom of Heaven, which *ſprinkling* with *elementary Water* could not do for them. Opening more at large the State of the *New-Birth* and *Regeneration*; in doing which, he would often break in upon me, but his own People cried *Shame*, for the Interruption he gave, adding, when I had done, he ſhould be heard. But he was ſo much out about the Proof of *ſprinkling* Infants by our Saviour's Words, that I found he was very weary of the Diſpute, and willing to drop it, and would go on upon *Perfection*. I urged him to clear up *Baptiſm* firſt, as we were upon it; but he would break off from it, urging, that both he and his People were ſatisfied about it; I then aſked him, *why he did begin upon it?* To ſhew us our Errors, *he replied*. So finding nothing was like to come of it, but Tumult and Noiſe, we preſſed it no farther. Then he charged us with being in *an Error* about *Perfection* I deſired to know, *wherein?* he was very unwilling to ſhew *wherein*, and flew off to *Election*; in ſhort he would ſtick to nothing. So that one of his Hearers reproved him very ſharply, for his abounding in ſo many charges of *ſuppoſed Errors*, and proving nothing; adding, that it did not ſuit his Station as a Miniſter, whoſe Work it was, or ought to be, to ſet People to rights and to ſhew them *wherein* they were

wrong;

wrong, and not to heap up Charges of Errors, without shewing of any thing of Proof that they were so, which could by no means be a Way to convince and inform those in Error. At which pertinent Rebuke he left us, some, though very few, going with him. I then desired the People to sit down, and be still; which they readily complied with; and after a short Pause, it was with me briefly to speak to each Point, explaining, as well as I could, in so short a Time, the Doctrine of outward Baptism to be but a Figure of the *Inward*, as outward Circumcision was of the *Inward*, viz. *of the Heart*: And likewise setting forth the *new Birth* and *Regeneration* in as clear a Light as Time would permit; with *Perfection* and *Election*, and *Reprobation*; all which, though but very briefly touched upon, took up a considerable Time, so that the Night was above half spent considerably. When I had done, the People were exceeding quiet and civil, and declared their Satisfaction, wishing their Minister had likewise staid, for he could not have gainsaid what was spoken to each Point. Some few of them stay'd a short Time after, desiring that they might have more such Meetings, and we parted in much Love and Sweetness; in particular, that Elder who reprehended the Minister, as he called him, said, *Religion could never prosper, so long as it was made a Trade of to get Bread by*; and he seemed convinced, that both the Doctrine and practice of their People were *inconsistent* with primitive Religion and our Saviour's Doctrine. And thus we closed our Conference and took Leave.

From thence I returned towards *Rhode-Island* taking my Leave, as not expecting to see them again this Journey.

I went from *Rhode-Island* to *Block-Island*, where were a few Friends, but much hurt by lewd Company, such as Privateers Men and the like, but all the Inhabitants came to Meeting, and were very sober and willing to hear. One *Ebenezer Slocum*, a fine Minister, was with me in this Island, and we had three or four Meetings among them: Then I returned to *Rhode-Island* again, and was at two large Meetings with Friends, then took my solemn Leave; and I had a Meeting in *Connecticut*, at which were many Friends from both *Rhode-Island* and *Naraganset*; a fine solid Meeting it was. Then I went to *Naraganset*, and had two or three Meetings there, and took my Leave and came to *New-London*, and so for *Long-Island*, and at the East End of it had some Meetings, where both Friends and others were very glad of my coming. I had many Meetings in several Places, and there was great flocking to Meetings, and very great Openness amongst the People in those Parts. A Friend told me, that *George Keith* had proposed, as a Means to prevent the growth of *Quakerism*, as he called it, the making of a Law to restrain Friends from travelling, save to their own Meetings; for he said, it was the travelling Preachers that kept the *Quakers* up so strong in Countenance. This was thought by some hot Biggots a likely Way to put a Stop to the Increase of the *Quakers*, which had infected almost the whole Country; but by People of Moderation and Sense it was hissed at.

But

But to the Matter; there was a very large Meeting at *Weſtbury on the Plain*, called a Yearly meeting, to which moſt of the Friends of the Iſland, and many of the better Sort of the Weſt End of it came, it being known that I ſhould take my Leave there; and I was very much opened, in ſetting forth the Difference between the true and falſe Miniſters, and the true and falſe Worſhip; and there being ſome of *Keith*'s Friends, they threatened to have me taken up again; but I found that Truth was over them, and they could do no more than ſhew their Teeth for they could not bite.

After this Meeting I left the Iſland, and went into the *Jerſeys* by *Stratan-Iſland* to *Woodbridge*, *Shrewſbury*, *Croſſwicks*, and back to *Egg-harbour*, viſiting Friends, and ſo back to *Philadelphia* to the Yearly meeting, which was very large, and I had good Satisfaction in being there. Here ſundry of my dear Friends from *Long-Iſland* met me, in particular, my dear Friend *Samuel Bowne* and his worthy Wife, who was a good Mother in *Iſrael*; with this good Woman I left fifteen Pounds to defray ſome Charges my good Friends had deen at about my Impriſonment, for Chamber Rent, and a Preſent they made the Keeper, which I was unwilling to have them pay, having Money plenty, that I earned in Priſon by making of Shoes: But my dear Friends would not permit it, but returned it me by *Samuel Bowne*, who uſed ſo many Arguments, that it did not look well for them to ſuffer it, by reaſon it would be a Reproach on them, and look as though I did not count them worthy to treat me as a Miniſter; ſo ra-

ther than bring an Uneasiness upon my Brethren, I took it again.

From *Philadelphia* I accompanied these my Friends going on their Way Home, about thirty Miles, as far as *Crosswicks*, visiting that Meeting and *Burlington*, took my Leave there and came to the *Falls* Meeting, and so visited all the Meetings on that Side of the River, down through the *Welsh* Towns to *Philadelphia*; and taking my Leave there also, went to *Concord* and *Chester*, visiting sundry Meetings, making towards *Maryland:* A *Welsh* Friend, named *Ellis Pugh*, who proposed to come over with me to visit his Friends in *Wales*, was now with me, and we came into *Maryland*, and took our Passage Home with a Friend, whose Name was *Daniel Maud*, but he could not be ready to sail under two Months; so my Companion returned to his Family, and I visited *Virginia* and *Carolina*, and had good Satisfaction. I took my Leave and returned to the Ship, and found my dear Friend *Ellis Pugh* labouring among Friends in *Maryland*. In a little Time the Ship fell down the Bay to *Kickatan*, where the Fleet made up, waiting for Convoy, and in a few Weeks the Fleet came together, being very large; but many Ships had taken so great Damage by staying so long in the Country, that they could not bear the Sea, and several foundered, and some put back to unload, and have their Ships repaired. We had a long Passage but arrived safe, landing at *Portsmouth* in the *Tenth-Month* 1706, and visited only a small Meeting at *Portsmouth* and took Coach for *London*, where I staid to visit the Meetings in the City, and afterwards went down

down to *Wiltſhire* Quarterly-Meeting, where was ſome Uneaſineſs amongſt Friends, but happily reconciled.

I then went into *Somerſetſhire* to viſit my Friend, being under an Engagement of Marriage to her, as before hinted, where I ſtaid a few Weeks, and viſited ſundry Meetings in that Neighbourhood, and ſo for *Briſtol*, where I ſtaid a Week or ten Days, then went pretty directly into the North, which I called my Home, and glad I was to be amongſt my old Friends again.

Having viſited the Meetings in our own County, and delivered up my Certificate, giving an Account of my Travels, at next Monthly-Meeting I acquainted Friends with my intended Marriage, having a few Lines from under my intended Wife's Hand, as likewiſe from her Parents, ſhewing all their Conſent. And I deſired a Certificate from the Meeting, and Perſons were appointed, as is uſual in the like Caſe, to make Enquiry of my Clearneſs: And in the Interim the Quarterly-meeting for *Cumberland* happened to be at *Carliſle*, whither I went. The Meeting was exceeding large, and I had great Satisfaction in being there. I viſited a few Meetings in *Cumberland*, but was limited for time, being obliged to be at the next Monthly-meeting to have my Certificate to preſent in *Somerſetſhire*, in order to proceed towards my Marriage.

By this Time the Spring was advanced, and my worthy Friend *James Wilſon* offered his Company to go to my Marriage; accordingly we ſet forward, and took in our Way the Yearly-meeting at *Middlewich*,

which was very large, and ſundry weighty Friends were there, I had great Satisfaction and Comfort in being there. So we took Meetings, as they ſuited, in our Way: And I found my Companion under a great Concern to ſpeak ſomething in Meetings, but very backward and loth to give up to it; but I gave him what Encouragement I could: And in *Tewkeſbury* Meeting, after ſome Struggle in himſelf, he ſtood up, and appeared very much to his own, and Friends Comfort, and ſo in every Meeting after till we came to *Briſtol*; and indeed he appeared more like an Elder in the Work than a Babe. But at *Briſtol* he did not get through what he had before him to his liking, and ſat down under very great Diſcouragement, but I cheered him up as well as I could, by giving him an Account of my Experiences: And when we came to the little Country Meetings again, he did finely, and gathered Strength and Experience in the Work very faſt.

We came to my intended Father-in-Law's Houſe, and went to their Monthly-meeting, where I and my Friend propoſed our intended Marriage, which was taken Notice of. And then *Briſtol* Yearly-meeting coming on, we went thither, and met our worthy Friend *Thomas Camm*, who intended to be at our Marriage. After the Yearly-meeting was over at *Briſtol*, *Thomas Camm* took a Meeting or two in the Way, but my Friend *James* and I returned back, in order for me to get clear of the Monthly-meeting, and likewiſe to provide ourſelves Neceſſaries for the Wedding, which was to be accompliſhed the Week following, at a Meeting on purpoſe at *Puddimore*,

and

and it was a very large Meeting, ſundry Public Friends beſides *Thomas Camm* being there.

The Yearly-meeting at *London* coming on, I ſtaid but a few Days with my Wife; I would have had her gone with me, but her Mother was taken ill of a *feveriſh* Diſorder, and was very weak, for which Reaſon ſhe was not eaſy to go; ſo I was obliged to leave her to nurſe her Mother, who in a few Days grew much better, but I had firſt a ſweet Opportunity with the Family, and one or two Friends more in her Chamber, and the Spirit of Prayer came on *James*, and he was drawn forth very largely, and very devoutly. After which (not without ſome conſiderable Reluctance) we parted for a ſhort Time, and *James* and I ſet out for *London*, and that Meeting was very large, and Friends there were willing I ſhould give ſome Account of my Travels, which I was much afraid of; but being call'd upon in the Meeting, I did it, and came off much better than I expected; ſundry Friends expreſſing their Approbation of it.

As ſoon as the Meeting was over, dear *James* and I had a heavy Parting; but as I was going to my Wife, that helped to chear my Heart a little. I came directly Home without taking any Meetings, having my dear Friend *James Salter*, and ſundry others who had been at the Yearly-meeting, in Company. And now I ſtaid with my dear Wife, and went very little abroad for more than twelve Months, having very great Comfort and Satisfaction in my married State, my Wife being a true Sympathizer with me in all the Exerciſes which I often was under, of one

Kind or another; as sometimes I feared *how we should go on in the World*; and she would often say, if we get but little, we will spend less; and if we save a little out of our Gettings, we shall do well enough, I am not at all fearful of it, neither would I have thee. Then I was jealous that my Ministry *was not so living as it had been before I was married*; and making my Trouble and Uneasiness about it known to my Wife, she would endeavour to diswade me from such Thoughts, adding, there was no Reason for it; so that I found her to be an Help-meet indeed.

Then finding a Concern to visit *Ireland*, I acquainted her therewith, and she gave me up so freely and cheerfully, that it was a Cordial to me; saying, that she expected I would often leave her, and that she had resolved in herself before Marriage, she would never hinder my Ministry if she could possibly avoid it, and she hoped that the Lord would strengthen her, and make that easy to her.

So accordingly about the *Fifth-Month* 1708, I applied to the Monthly-meeting for a Certificate, which I had, and then took Shipping at *Minehead*, and landed at *Cork*, where I staid two or three Meetings to good Satisfaction: Then I went to *Charlevill* and *Limerick*, visiting the Meetings along that Side of the Nation to *Colrain*, and I found very hard Work in many Places, and in some Meetings was quite shut up; but I found, where the People who did not profess with us came in plentifully, it was not so, but there was an open Door; and that worthy Friend, and heavenly minded, meek, and divine Preacher,

Gilbert

Gilbert Thompſon, was there at the ſame Time; and when we converſed about it, I found he was, much as I was, ſhut up, and found it very hard Work in ſome Places to get forward; and as he was in Experience and Age much my Superior, I requeſted what he thought might be the Reaſon, *why it ſeemed more dead amongſt Friends in this Nation now, than in ſome other Places?* He gave this as a Reaſon, *That the Profeſſors of Truth in that Nation were very ſtrict and exact in ſome Things, and placed much in* outward Appearance, *but too much neglected the* Reformation *and* Change *of the* Mind, *and having the* Inſide *thoroughly cleanſed from* Pride *and* Iniquity; *for thou knoweſt*, ſaid he, *the Leaven of the* Phariſees *was always hurtful to the Life of Religion in all Shapes.* Yet nevertheleſs we found a brave living People in that Nation, and great Encouragement there was to viſit freſh Places.

I came from *Colrain* to *Lurgan*, *Mount Allen*, and ſundry ſmall Meetings thereabout, *Hilſborough*, *Liſburn*, *Ruffer-Iſland*, and ſo to *Drogheda*, Friends having a Meeting-houſe in that Town, but few came to Meeting, there being no Friends in the Town, except two Men. From thence I went for *Dublin*, then viſited the Meetings towards *Wicklow*, *Waterford* and ſo to *Cork*, and had a large Meeting at *Kinſale*, it being the firſt Meeting in the Meeting-houſe that Friends had built there. Friends in that Kingdom are highly to be commended, in not ſparing Charge for accommodating Meetings, either by building or hiring Places for that Service.

By

By this Time the Half-yearly-meeting at *Dublin* came on, but Nothing very remarkable happened there. I took my Leave of Friends, and when clear I left the City, and my dear Friend *Joseph Gill* accompanied me about three Weeks. He did not then appear as a Minister in Meetings, but was under great Exercise, and I was satisfied he was under a very considerable Influence of divine Goodness, which would be manifested by his coming forth in the Ministry in due Time, which accordingly came to pass; for in a few Weeks after his Return, he appeared very acceptably in the Ministry, and became a very serviceable Man in the Work.

After we parted I went on for *Cork*, in order to take shipping Home, which I did, but the Wind not favouring us for almost three Weeks, gave me some Uneasiness, because I wrote to my Wife, that I intended coming sooner; and I heard afterwards some of our Neighbours had reported, that I with the Ship was taken into *France*; but my poor Wife bore up bravely under it. When the Wind sprung up fair, the Master set sail, but we were just but got clear of the River before it veered against us; so the Master purposed that we might fetch *Waterford*, and thought it would be better to do so than to go back to *Cork*; accordingly we all agreed, and got there by the Close of the Evening, being *Seventh-day*; I staid the *First-day* Meeting, which was very much to Satisfaction, and I was opened in the Excellency of the Gospel. On *Second-day* we set sail again, and got into *Minehead* in about forty eight Hours, and I posted Home by *Bridgwater*, and met

with

with a hearty and kind Welcome from all our Family, more especially my dear Wife, having spent in *Ireland* somewhat more than eighteen Weeks. It soon got abroad that I was come Home, and many Friends from several Neighbouring Meetings came to Visit me and we had great Comfort in one another.

Now I had nothing to do but Visit the Meetings around me, which were pretty numerous: But one Thing came upon me pretty much, and that was, *to put myself into some Business to get Bread.* Some proposed one Way, some another. *London* and *Bristol* were both proposed, but I could not see my way to either of them; and what I should do in the Country, being ignorant of Farming, I saw not yet. At last it was proposed that I might with a little Charge make a Conveniency to make a little Malt, in which, when an Apprentice, I had some Experience, being then used to it. I accordingly did, but my Stock was very small, but some kind Friends lent me some Money, and I found it answer better than I expected, so that I was encouraged to proceed; and in about three Years Time, I found it answered very well, so that I went on with Pleasure, and took great Care, and was very diligent in my Business and in attending all Meetings that I could reach in a Morning's Ride, as I found a Concern so to do; and the Comfort and Happiness I enjoyed was great, for I could entertain my Friends with a Lodging, and other Necessaries in a plain Way, which was very agreeable to us both; and most Friends that came, took a Bed with me one or two Nights, as best suited their Conveniency in their Journey. But

But in a little Time a Storm arose: The Parson of the Parish having had Nothing from our Family for thirteen Years and upwards, of his small Tithes, and other Church-dues, (as he stiled them) got a Summons for me to meet him before the Justice; but before the Time came I writ him a few Lines, to know his Demand, and he writ me a long Letter in answer thereto. And I replied to his Answer. All which are hereunto annexed. The Time came, and some other Friends were convened by other Priests from other Parishes at the same Time. When I was called, there were two Justices, one *Edward Phillips* Esq; of *Montacute*, and—*Harben* Esq; of *Newton*: *Phillips* was very rough and boisterous in Words, and *Harben* altogether as mild, using sundry Arguments to perswade me to pay it myself, or suffer some other Person to pay it, being very earnest that I should suffer him to pay it for me, and he would not desire to have it altogether; supposing that I might not so well spare what the Parson demanded at once. I told him, I was very much obliged to him for his kind Offer, believing his Intention was to serve me in it, but I could by no means accept it, without Injury to my own Mind, it being a Matter that concerned my Conscience, which I was desirous to keep void of Offence towards God. He took me into another Room, and was very earnest to have it made up; urging, *that it was so much in Arrears, that it was beyond their Power to end it, and it must be put into the* Exchequer, *and that would be very chargeable, which*, says he, *must fall upon you at last.* I told him, that I could do Nothing to make it up:

And

And having conferred ſome Time, we went in again, and he ſpoke to the Effect following, *that he was very ſorry he could not ſerve us, as we were both his Neighbours and Friends* (meaning the Parſon and me) and told the Parſon, *it would be uneaſy to us both; and would have us end it between ourſelves.* I ſaid, If it were a Matter of juſt Debt that I was ſatisfied was my Neighbour's Due, I ſhould ſoon end it with my Neighbour *Ray*, and be as willing to pay, as he was to receive it; but as it was not of that Nature, I could by no means do it. So I was diſmiſſed, and in a little Time ſerved with an *Exchequer Proceſs*; and in a few Months after, in the next Term, I was taken up in my Way for *Briſtol*, where I was going about my Buſineſs, and put into Goal. But when the Parſon had got me there, he was very uneaſy indeed, ſo that he could not take his Reſt, and told his Attorney, *If he loſt all his Claim, he could by no means keep me there, for he had no Reſt or Quietneſs of Mind Night nor Day.* So accordingly the Attorney came to the Keeper in leſs than ten Days Time, in the Parſon's Name deſiring him to let me go Home to look after my Buſineſs: Which I accordingly did, and in a few Days went my Journey to *Briſtol*; and when I had done my Buſineſs there, took a little Turn into *Wiltſhire*, and ſpent about two Weeks in viſiting ſundry Meetings, and ſo returned Home.

Then I adviſed my Friends at the Meeting for Sufferings in *London*, how it ſtood; who adviſed me, that the Parſon could not proceed farther, as he had taken me up and put me into Goal: So I heard no more of it all that Winter: But in the Spring a diſtant

tant Relation of our Family came to my Wife when I was from Home, and desired her to lend him ten Pounds, for he was going to a Fair, being a considerable Grazier. She had no Thoughts about the Parson's Demands, that being a much bigger Sum, and he being a *Dissenter*, and having done me the like Favour, she lent it him, and he gave her his Note accordingly. My Wife, when I came Home, told me what she had done, and I said, it was very well, mistrusting Nothing of any Trick in the Matter; but as he came in my Absence to borrow it, so in like Manner he came in pretence to pay it, addressing himself to my Wife to this Effect; *Dear Cousin, if you can help me to that Note, I had best pay it; you know I borrowed it of you, and shall pay it to you.* So she very innocently fetch'd his Note, and he tore it immediately; and putting his Hand into his Pocket, takes out and throws her down the Parson's Receipt for the ten Pounds, in full of all Demands for Tithes to that Time. My poor Wife was under a very great Surprize, urging, *it would be a very great Uneasiness to me.* Your Husband, said he, is, we allow, a Man of Sense, but in this he is a stubborn Fool; and I would have paid it out of my own Pocket rather than he should have ruined you and himself, which this *Exchequer* Suit would soon have done if it had gone on; for his original Demand is fourteen Pounds and upwards, and he hath been at forty or fifty Shillings Charge already, and you must have paid that and ten Times more if it had gone on, which now I have cleared for ten Pounds; I think you are exceeding well off. *Ay, but*, said she, *we look at inward Peace*

more than all that, and I shall be blamed for being privy to the Contrivance, and beget a Jealousy in my Husband about other Affairs. Oh! my dear Cousin trouble not yourself about that, said he, for I can clear you, that you are as innocent of it as a new-born Babe: And I know I could not have brought it about with your Husband, for he would have started so many Questions, that I could not possibly have brought it about any other Way, than by ploughing with his Heifer. When my Wife told me of it, which was not presently, it troubled me, to have my Testimony thus evaded by this undermining Trick, which was in the Man that did it, designed for our Good no doubt, and the Note that he gave for the Money being destroyed, I had nothing to shew under his Hand for the Money, and what to do in it I was at a loss: But I thought it best to convene the Elders, and let them know how it stood, and to be advised how I might clear my Testimony, and my dear Wife and Self, from having any Hand in this deceitful Trick; which I accordingly did, and they were satisfied we were clear of the Contrivance, but did not know what to do to satisfy others about it; one Friend was for *suing him* that had thus trick'd me for the ten Pounds: But others thought such an Act would do more Hurt than Good, and thought it by no means adviseable to act any farther, than to go to my Kinsman and let him know, that what he had done in the Case, tho' by him intended for a Kindness, yet it had the contrary Effect on our Minds, so that altho' he intended to serve us, it proved a Disservice, and to request, that for the future he would never

never ſerve us ſo again. In due Time my Wife and I took an Opportunity, and diſcourſed the Matter over with him; and he to excuſe it ſaid, he little thought we would take it ſo much amiſs as we had, having, as he thought, no Reaſon for it, and wondered that our Friends ſhould be ſo ſtubborn as to contend againſt Law; and he could not bear to think we ſhould be ſerved as Mr. *Banton* and Mr. *Tilly* were; and indeed, if it were again to do, I ſhould do the ſame, *ſaid he.* Robert Banton *and* William Tilly, *were two very great Sufferers by* Exchequer Proceſs, *both very honeſt ſincere Friends.* Thus was this Affair ended. The firſt Letter I writ the Parſon, with the Parſon's Anſwer, and my Reply, are hereunto annexed, *viz.*

'Lymington, *the* 15th *of the* Fourth-Month, June, 1712.

'*Neighbour* RAY,

'SINCE thou art pleaſed to proceed againſt me 'by Juſtice's Warrant, I deſire thou wouldſt be 'pleaſed to let me know, what thou demandeſt, 'elſe, how ſhall I be able to make my Defence. I 'think thy People this Year and laſt were very un-'reaſonable in their Taking, having both Years (mo-'deſtly computed) taken above one eighth Part of 'my Hay: And * *Brook*'s never, as I am informed, 'paid any in kind till thou came into the Pariſh; 'but now for Nine-pence the three Acres, thou haſt 'taken

* A little Water Mead of three Acres, called BROOK's Mead.

'taken every Year Hay worth eight or nine Shillings *per Annum* at leaſt. As for Arguments between us, for or againſt, I ſuppoſe them needleſs, but I take it very hard to be ſo treated from a Man of thy Pretenſions. I believe thou wouldſt not, if in my Caſe, like ſuch Treatment; not that I murmur or repine becauſe my Goods are taken away on this Account, being perſwaded that it is my Duty *actively* to refuſe a Compliance with the Laws that command Tithes; and if I muſt, as I have already, ſuffer the Spoiling of my Goods, I hope *paſſively* to ſubmit and bear it. This I conclude with Deſires of Good for thee and thine every Way.

'SAMUEL BOWNAS.'

'*SIR*,

'I HAVE been above thirteen Years in the Pariſh, and have not given your Family any Diſturbance, though the Arrears which are due to me are conſiderable; ſo that you have no Reaſon to complain of hard Uſage from me, but rather to thank me for my Kindneſs, in bearing this Injuſtice ſo long.

'You don't think, when you go to Law with one another, or with ſome of thoſe who differ from you, that you ſpoil their Goods, when you put them to Charges, that you may force them to do you Juſtice. And why, pray you, ſhould it be thought a Spoiling of your Goods, when we do nothing more than you do yourſelves, when you think you are wronged; that is, endeavour to re-

'cover our own? For I demand nothing of you 'but what I know to be mine before I receive it.

'You might as well make an Entry upon our '*Glebelands*, or upon any Thing else we poſſeſs, as 'to ſeize upon the Tithes, to which you have no 'more Title than to the other, unleſs you have 'bought them, as I am ſure you have not.

'For every Body who underſtands theſe Things, 'will tell you, that when ſuch Lands as are Tithe-'free, are ſold or lett, they are for that Reaſon 'valued at an higher Price, and the Lord or Seller 'makes the Tenant or Purchaſer pay for the Tithe, 'as well as for the reſt of the Eſtate: And that on 'the other hand, there is a proportionable Abate-'ment made to the Purchaſers and Tenants of ſuch 'Lands as are liable to the Payment of Tithes. 'And there is very good Reaſon for it, becauſe in 'that Caſe, the Tithes being no Part of the Land-'lord's Property, he cannot make them over to a-'nother, or demand a Price for that which he has 'not ſold; and thoſe who Rent or Purchaſe his 'Eſtate, can claim no Title by Virtue of any Con-'veyance or Grant of his, but only to what he had 'a Right to diſpoſe of himſelf: So that if you will 'needs, in this matter pretend Conſcience, you ought 'not to occupy any Land but what is Tithe free.

'But if you think that this would be very griev-'ous and inconvenient, you ought, when you oc-'cupy Tithe-Land, to permit us quietly to enjoy our 'Tithes, which are a Part of our *Free-hold*, and to 'which we have the ſame Title as we have to our '*Glebe*, wherein you claim no Propriety, as indeed

'you

'you have no manner of Title to the Tithe. If 'you have, be pleaſed to ſhew it, and let us know 'from whom you had it. And if you have none, 'as I know you have not, don't go to pretend Con-'ſcience for invading your Neighbour's Property.

'For my Part, I do not ſee any Reaſon, why 'you ſhould not actively comply with the Law for 'Payment of Tithes, as well as with that for Tax-'es, as your Friends have done over all the King-'dom ever ſince the Revolution; and ſome of 'them have been Collectors, though the Title of 'the Act of Parliament did plainly ſhew that the 'Tax was for carrying on a War againſt *France* 'with Vigour: And yet your Friends, even thoſe 'who have been of greateſt Reputation among 'you, and the Champions of your Cauſe, have de-'clared as much againſt the Lawfulneſs of all War, 'as they have done againſt the Payment of Tithes; 'and ſometimes have carried the matter ſo high, 'as to refuſe the Payment of Money demanded of 'them for that Purpoſe as *Robert Barclay* in his '*Apology* tells us, *they ſuffered, becauſe they would not 'pay for Drums and Colours, and other Military Fur-'niture.* And this they did in the Time of Peace, 'when the Militia met only to make a Raree-ſhow, 'and had at the Place of Rendezvous no other 'Enemies to ſkirmiſh with but Butterflies. Ne-'vertheleſs, ſince the War againſt *France* began, 'your Friends have given the ſame active Obedi-'ence to the Laws for Payment of Taxes, as their 'fellow Subjects have done; and I hope, you for the 'future, will do for the Payment of Tithes, which,

'according to your avowed Principles, is as lawful as the Payment of Taxes for carrying on a 'War with Vigour.

'It is a vain Thing to pretend Conſcience to excuſe Oppreſſion or Covetouſneſs, for it muſt be 'one or either of theſe, which makes any Man take 'Poſſeſſion of what is not his own, but his Neighbour's.

'If we lived by the Alms-baſket, and could 'claim nothing but what we might expect from 'the Benevolence of thoſe from whom we make 'any Demand of this Nature, we could not blame 'you ſo much: But the Caſe is otherwiſe; for 'we deſire none of your Benevolence, and we 'know the Tithe is no Part of your Eſtate, and 'that you can claim no Right to it, either by 'Donation or Purchaſe. Therefore don't go to 'call that your own which is not; and being you 'diſclaim all Violence againſt, or Oppreſſion of 'Men upon the Account of their Conſcience, we 'may reaſonably expect ſo much Tenderneſs from 'you, that you would not oppreſs us, becauſe we 'differ from you, and that you would not, under 'a Pretence of Conſcience, ſeize upon our Eſtates, 'and then make an Outcry againſt us, when we 'deſire the Aſſiſtance of the civil Magiſtrate, for 'recovering any Part of our Properties or Freeholds, as often as you unjuſtly invade them. Surely we might look for more Equity from you, being we are Members of that Church which in 'other Reſpects permits you the free Exerciſe 'of your Religion, and has confirmed the ſame

'by

'by the late Act of Indulgence, agreed upon 'by the Biſhops, Lords, and Commons of our 'Communion. An Inſtance of ſuch Moderation as was never ſhewn to our Church by 'any other Sect who had us under their Power, 'whether *Papiſts*, or ſome violent and fierce *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, who perhaps would handle us as 'roughly as our Predeceſſors were by them, if 'God ſhould again permit us to fall under their 'mercileſs Hands.

'You ſay, *You take it hard to be ſo treated by a 'Man of my Pretenſions, and if it was from ſome of 'the ſame Cloth, you would think it was like themſelves.* But why ſhould it be thought inconſiſtent with my Pretenſions, to demand what I know 'to be my own? And why may I not ſay the ſame 'to you, that I take it hard to be ſo treated by a 'Man of your Pretenſions, who profeſs, that *Violence* againſt thoſe who differ from you, merely 'upon the Account of their Conſcience, is unwarrantable; and yet, contrary to this your Profeſſion, you ſeize upon that which is mine, mine by 'as good a Right as you have to your own Eſtate: For you cannot ſay that you have purchaſed the Tithes, or that any who had a Title to 'diſpoſe of them, did make them over to you; 'and yet for all that, you pretend Conſcience for 'the Diſturbance you give me, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe I am of a different Communion 'from you. If this was done by ſome who maintain, that *Violence* againſt Men of another Perſwaſion is *meritorious*, and that *Hereticks* ought

'not to be suffered to live, I should think it was 'like themselves; tho' from you I might expect 'other Things. But let that be as it will, I desire 'nothing from you but the Profits of my own Estate, which you unjustly with-hold from me; 'and I am resolved, whatever you think or say 'about the Matter, that I *will have my Right*. 'However, if you are willing to live peaceably, 'I shall be as moderate as you can expect, and for 'that Reason have referred this Business to Mr. '*Smith*, whom I have authorized to do as he thinks 'fit, and am, *Sir*,

At the Parsonage-house, July 24th, 1712.

'*Your Friend and Well-wisher*,

'WILLIAM RAY.'

'Lymington, *the* 10*th of the* Sixth Month, *August*, 1712.

'*Neighbour* RAY,

'SINCE thou hast advanced some Arguments 'for thy taking Tithes, I have somewhat to offer in Answer thereunto, for my *Refusal*.

'1*st*. Thou art pleased to write, *I ought to thank 'thee for forbearing with this Injustice so long*; but 'I take the Refusal of paying Tithes to be no Injustice. *Therefore*, &c.

'2*dly*. Thou says, *when I go to Law with another*, '(or some that differ from me) *I do not think that 'Spoiling of their Goods*; which I do not take to be a 'parallel Case with this; For, *first*, if I go to Law

'with

'with any Man, it shall be for some *just Debt* owing to me, for which he, whom I so go to Law with, shall have received some valuable Consideration; but from thee I have received none for the Tithe of my Increase; therefore it's not a parallel Case.

'3*dly*. He with whom I go to Law shall have no *just Plea of Conscience*, because if I can have no plain Demonstration that he had of me a *valuable Consideration* for which I make my Demands on him, I will not go to Law at all; therefore it's not a parallel Case.

'4*thly*. If on such a Foundation I go to Law, and force my adverse Party to Justice by Law, I conclude with thee, *it is not spoiling of Goods*. But to go to Law, and by it take away Peoples Goods, without such a *valuable Consideration* as above, is *Spoiling of Goods*, in my Opinion, *with a Witness*.

'Thou writes me, *I may as well seize of the* Glebe-lands, *or upon any Thing else we possess, as upon the* Tithes. Under Favour, I am of another Mind; because I have no Title to shew for thy *Glebe-lands* or any Thing else thou enjoys: But for my Land, the whole I take to be mine, without any Reserve or exception whatsoever, as the Writings that give me my Title to it, do sufficiently set forth and declare; and I have given for it a *valuable Consideration*, which thou never did for the *tenth Part* thereof: Therefore, I am sure I have more Right to it than thou canst pretend to, in Justice, Equity and Reason; because I have bought, without Reserve, the *Whole*, and

'manured the ſame at my own Coſt and Charge; 'but thou haſt bought no Part thereof, nor been 'at any Charge about improving it, that I know of.

'Thou further writes, *that every Body that under-'ſtands theſe Things, will tell me, when ſuch Lands 'as are Tithe-free are ſold, for that Reaſon they are 'valued higher.* What Argument is that for the '*Lawfulneſs* of Tithes according to the Goſpel? I 'conceive none at all.

'The next is, that *if I occupy Tithe-lands, I ought 'quietly to permit you to enjoy the Tithes*: That's the 'Matter in Diſpute, which ſhall in it's Place be 'ſpoken to.

'Now I am come to thy Argument about *Taxes*, 'wherein thou endeavours to make us inconſiſtent 'with ourſelves, in *actively* complying with the 'Law *for Taxes*, but refuſing *a Compliance* with the 'Law *for Tithes* endeavouring thereby to lay Tithes 'and Taxes upon *one Foundation*: In this alſo I dif-'fer from thee; for I underſtand Taxes to be paid 'as a *civil Debt*, *Tribute* or *Cuſtom* to *Cæſar*: But 'Tithes are paid as a religious Act to God, 'and holy Church, as in its Place ſhall be 'farther ſhewn.

'Indeed our Saviour ſaid, *Render unto* Cæſar *the 'Things that are* Cæſars; *and unto God, the Things 'that are God's* Mark xii. 17. Now if we muſt 'render to *Cæſar* the Things that are *Cæſars*, and 'unto God the Things that are God's, then it re-'mains to be proved, that *Tithes* are *Cæſar*'s Due, 'before they be demanded as *his Right*.

'But

'But here's the grand Objection of *Inconſiſtency*; 'that becauſe we have ſuffered for refuſing to pay 'towards the Militia for *Drums*, *Colours*, &c. and 'yet *actively* comply with the Law of Taxes, 'which is to carry on a War with Vigour, *&c.* in- 'ſiſting on *R. Barclay*'s Words to ſtrengthen the 'Objection; we are ſtill of the ſame Mind with 'R. *Barclay* that *Wars and Fighting are inconſiſtent 'with the Goſpel Principles; and when it's brought 'ſo near to us, that by Law we are obliged to act both 'in Perſon and Eſtate, we in this Caſe chuſe rather* paſſively *to ſuffer, than* actively *to comply, for* Con- 'ſcience-ſake. And this is ſtill our Caſe, and a 'Suffering we lie under (with reſpect to the Mili- 'tia) in many Places, being careful to walk by 'the Rule of Chriſt's Doctrine; and yet do not 'hereby think ourſelves inconſiſtent in actively 'complying with the Law of Taxes, in rendering 'to *Cæſar* the Things that are *Cæſar*'s, and he may do 'therewith what pleaſeth him, we may not direct 'him; therefore, to uſe thy own familiar Simile, 'I take this Argument of Taxes to have no more 'Weight in it, in relation to Tithes, it being no 'parallel Caſe, than the *Enemies that the Militia 'met with in their Rendezvous, at their Raree-ſhow.*

'Thou writeſt, that *it's a vain Thing to pretend 'Conſcience to excuſe Oppreſſion or Covetouſneſs.* I 'am entirely of thy Mind; ſo that where any Man 'pretends to refuſe the Payment of Tithes out of '*Covetouſneſs*, believing at the ſame Time in his 'Conſcience they are *juſtly due*; 'tis pity, I ſay, 'if that be his only Excuſe, but that he ſhould

'pay

'pay *smartly* for it: But beware of miſtaking, by 'ſuppoſing the *Refuſal* to be from *Covetouſneſs*, 'when 'tis really *Conſcience*.

'Thou addeſt, *if you lived by the Alms-baſket*, &c. 'which indeed I think you ought to do, if your 'own Hands can't ſufficiently adminiſter to your 'own Wants; for a *forced Maintenance* is not con-'ſiſtent with the *Goſpel Miniſtry*; and that thou 'knows right well, having often confeſs'd it in my 'Houſe. Thou adds, *Tithes is no Part of my Eſtate, either by* Donation *or* Purchaſe. But I ſay as a-'bove, I have *purchaſed* the *Whole*, without any 'Reſerve or Exception of Tithes. But in thy own 'Country, *North-Britain*, I have been informed, 'Tithes are *excepted* in Deeds and Conveyances, 'ſo that they have ſome Colour to uſe ſuch an Argu-'ment there, but I can ſee no Foundation for ſuch 'an Argument in this Country at all. Thou ad-'viſes me *not to call that* my own, *which is not*: I 'ſay, it is *my own*, becauſe as above, I have, with-'out Reſerve, *purchaſed* the *Whole*, as Witneſs my 'Writings. Beſides all that, at my *own Charge* I 'have manured and improved it.

'Thy next Paragraph is already anſwered.

'I acknowledge thee a Member of that Church, 'or Society, who have granted us the *Indulgence* 'we now enjoy in the exerciſe of our Religion; 'for which I with the reſt of my Brethren, ought 'to be truly thankful to God and the Government. 'But I muſt tell thee, ſome of thy Brethren, not 'of the meaneſt rank in your Church, have, 'like battering Rams, endeavoured to break that

'Chain

'Chain of *Indulgence* we now enjoy, but Providence has hitherto prevented them, and I hope ever will, unless God shall see meet to try his Church, to discover thereby the truly *Religious*, from the *Hypocrites*.

'Thou seems angry, and to resent it, that I should take it ill or hard, to be *so treated by a Man of thy Pretensions*; but the Reason why I so writ, is this, because I have more than once heard, that my Neighbour *Ray* has said in our House, that *it was a Matter of* Conscience *to him, to* force *a Maintenance from such as for the Sake of* Conscience *could not pay him*; using that Text, *Whose Ox have I taken, or whom have I defrauded?* Which I have sometimes spoke of to others, and it gained great Credit and good Thoughts concerning my Neighbour *Ray*; and for that Reason, and no other, I took such Treatment hard. But however, if thy Conscience be altered, it will give Reason for my Thoughts concerning thee also to change.

'Now I shall give thee my Reasons, why I can't *actively* comply with the Law for *paying Tithes* and answer thy last Paragraph in the Conclusion of this.

'1*st*. I was in my Youth very thoughtful touching the Nature and Design of *Religion*, and conscious to myself, that an *implicit Faith*, with a *blind Obedience*, might not be sufficient to bring me to the End intended by it. 2*dly*, Observing many under great Sufferings for refusing to pay Tithes, and their Plea for it was *Conscience*; but

'many

'many more I found did pay, and thought they 'did right, at leaſt made no ſcruple of Conſcience 'in doing it; this Contradiction in Practice made 'me willing to look into it myſelf; that 3*dly*, what 'I did herein might not be for *Imitation*'s Sake on 'either Side, but that I might act on a Principle of '*Faith*, as knowing, *what is not of Faith is Sin*. 'And 4*thly*, and laſtly, theſe Reaſons put me on 'examining and trying for myſelf.

'This premiſed, I now aſſure thee, that it is not 'out of *Stubbornneſs*, *Ill-humour* or *Covetouſneſs*, but 'purely on a Principle of *Conſcience*, for theſe Rea-'ſons following, that I can neither *pay* or *receive* '*Tithes*.

'1*ſt*. The Dedication of them is groſly *ſuperſti-'tious* (and I think proteſted againſt by moſt, unleſs 'ſuch as love to ſuck the ſweet of other Mens 'Labour) being dedicated and given by King *Ethel-'wolf* (about 855) to *God and St*. Mary *for the Re-'demption of his own Soul, with the Souls of his An-'ceſtors*; in the Conſideration whereof, the Cler-'gy were to ſing ſuch a Number of Maſſes for the 'King and his Nobles, *&c*.

'2*dly*. It is already granted by me, that we muſt 'render to *Cæſar* the Things that are *Cæſar*'s, 'and unto God, the Things that are God's. And 'I promiſe thee, for my own Part, I ſhall be both 'ready and willing to pay the Tenth of my In-'creaſe to God, when I am ſatisfied he requires it 'of me; or unto them he ſhall appoint, when I 'am ſatisfied he has appointed them, as he did the 'Tribe of *Levi*; but for me to pay Tithe to a

'Man

' Man claiming it as a Minister of God, when I ' know that no such Thing is required of me, ' (Tithe being no *Gospel Maintenance*, that I can ' understand) it may justly be said unto me, *Who ' has required this of thy Hands?* Yet however, if ' Tithe be *compelled* from me by a human Law, ' I can't help that, nor resist the Force of that De- ' mand by Argument from Scripture; therefore, ' being perswaded that God requires of me no such ' Thing as the Payment of Tithes, but that I am ' called to protest against all *Superstition* and *Ido- ' latry*, and the Law of Tithes plainly appearing ' to me to be such, therefore I cannot, with a safe ' Conscience *actively* comply therewith, but chuse ' rather to please God than Man, although it may ' be to my Disadvantage in this World, yet by so ' doing I hope for future Gain.

' 3*dly*, And again, Tithes are required to be paid ' as a *religious Act*, viz. *to God and holy Church*; and ' as above, I am perswaded that God requires no ' such Thing, therefore I can't pay them with a ' safe Conscience, being a *Protestant* against that ' which I call *Popery*, not in Word and Tongue ' only, but in Deed and Truth also.

' *Lastly*, Tithes are not required by the Gospel, ' that I can understand; if thou canst make it out, ' please to do it, for 'tis clear to me, that Christ came ' to finish and put an End to that Law which re- ' quired Tithes, as well as to the Priesthood sup- ' ported by them; therefore to continue in the ' Practice of Tithing, is in effect, *denying that Christ ' is come in the Flesh to put an End to them*, accord- ' ing

'ing to Scripture and the Practice of former Times; 'for which Reason, I think an *active* Compliance 'with the Law for Tithes is *Sin*, and in my Opi- 'nion, he that payeth or he that receiveth, are e- 'qually culpable in God's Sight; for which Cause 'we can neither *receive* nor *pay*, as this Deed 'of Settlement will prove, and more Instances of 'the like kind might be produced from sundry 'Parts of the Nation; a plain Demonstration, that 'as we can't *pay* Tithes, neither can we *receive* 'them, when they are as legal a Property to us 'as they are to you.

'I could say more, but what is said may perhaps 'be tedious, and thought impertinent, therefore for 'the present this shall suffice.

'To conclude, thou art pleased to give me thy 'Resolution, *viz. to have* what thou calls *thy Right*; 'and if I could think it was so too, we should soon 'reconcile this Matter.

'Thou adds, *if I am willing to live peaceably*, (and 'I desire no other than a peaceable Living) *thou 'wilt be as moderate as I can expect*. But this seems 'an odd Way of shewing thy Moderation, to em- 'ploy an Attorney; for thou adds, *for that Pur- 'pose thou hast referred the Matter to Mr.* Smith, *to 'do as he thinks fit*, and that may not perhaps be 'the best Way to shew thy Moderation; however, 'be that as it will, I must tell thee, that what I 'cannot directly pay, for the Reasons aforesaid, I 'cannot order or allow another indirectly to pay 'for me; for although I might bribe my Consci- 'ence, as the chief Priests did the Soldiers, and lull

'it

' it asleep in such Hypocrisy, yet an awaking Time
' will come on, when every Thought, with every
' secret Thing, will be brought to Light, and ap-
' pear as it is.

' This with due Respects from him who shall
' always be ready and willing to serve thee and
' thine, in any Thing I can with a safe Conscience,
' and in any Office of Love mayest command

Thy Friend and Neighbour,

SAMUEL BOWNAS.'

These Letters were exchanged between us some Weeks before I was made a Prisoner, and whether they might soften him or not, I dare not say much; but, as before, he was very uneasy while I was in Prison, and, as I was informed, told his Attorney and his Wife, *if he lost his Debt, he could not keep me there.*

This Storm being blown over, I enjoyed Quietness, save that I was prosecuted for Church Rates, small Tithes, *&c.* for the Parson would not let his Dues, as he call'd them, run on again in Arrears, but would take it in Kind every Year, so he never had me before a Justice again, but if he could not have it in one Thing, would take another. I now had nothing but my Business that lay upon me, save the Attendance of Meetings for Worship and Discipline, with Marriages and Burials, which took up pretty much of my Time, there being very few to attend such Services in the Country: So that I had sometimes long Journies on those Occasions. *An*

An ACCOUNT *of my visiting* Devonshire *and* Cornwall.

ON the 21st of the *Eighth-Month* 1715, I set out from Home, and visited *Taunton*, *Wellington*, *Milverton*, *Spiceland*, *Cullumpton*, and *Topsham*, where the Quarterly Meeting for *Devonshire* was held at that Time: I was at three Meetings there to good Satisfaction. From thence to *Sticklepath*, and *Launceston*, where I had a very large and good Meeting. From thence to *Port-Isaac* and *Falmouth*, visiting Friends to *Penrin*: The Quarterly-meeting was held at *Falmouth*, and I had very agreeable Service. From thence to *Penrin*, *Market-Jew* and *Penzance*, so back to *Falmouth*. From thence to *Austel*, *Tregony*, *Looe* and *Liskard*, *Germans*, *Plymouth*, *Kingsbridge* and *Totness*; had Meetings at all these Places, some of which were very large and well; and at *Exeter* likewise: From that to *Chard*, and so Home. In this small Journey I had about thirty-eight Meetings, and travell'd about three Hundred and fifty Miles.

In about a Year or two after this, my Wife was taken with a lingering Disorder, for the recovering her out of which, I applied myself to several Doctors, but all in vain, for she continued wasting more than two Years and eight Months, growing weaker apace a few Weeks before she died, which was in the *Eighth-Month* 1719. She died in a sweet Frame, often saying, that *Nothing troubled her, but that she was so easily deceived about the Parson's Tithe, which being*

being done in Ignorance, not designedly, she was the more easy about it.

After which, I was at a strait what Course to take for some Time, being in Considerable Business, which I kept on that Winter, and in the Spring put it off to my Servant, and lett what little Estate I had to him, putting off all Business, and went the next Summer into my own Country, the North, to visit my Friends. I went to the Yearly Meetings at *Bristol* and *London*, in course as they came, and travelled from *London* through *Hertfordshire Leicestershire* and *Nottinghamshire* to *Leeds*, visiting the Meetings of Friends as I passed along: I was at sundry very large open Meetings in my Way to the Yearly-meeting at *York*, which was very large, and a great Number of Ministers of both Sexes. I had no Time till the last Meeting, and the Time of that was half spent before I began, but then I took my Time pretty thoroughly, being opened very largely in the distinguishing between *true* and *false Religion*, setting them as it were Side by Side, that they might judge for themselves of both the Worship and the Ministry with their different Effects upon the Minds of Men and Women in regulating our Passions, and reforming our Minds; and opened pretty fully the Danger that Ministers were in, to preach from the *Letter* instead of the *Spirit*; and that our former Openings and Experiences alone were not to be depended upon, but our safest and best Support in that Work was the immediate Ability of the Spirit, opening our Understandings in Matter suitable to every State, that our Words might be fitly spoken, then they were

carry their own Evidence, and be ſerviceable to the Hearers: I was very large and particular on theſe Heads; and there being ſundry Clergymen, and Teachers of other Societies, I did not hear of any Objection made to the Doctrine they heard: But ſome of our Friends thought, what I had to ſay about the Miniſtry would have been better deliver'd in the Meeting of Miniſters; but that could not have anſwered ſo well, as to the Teachers of other Societies, who might want Inſtruction in theſe Things, perhaps more than our own People did. This was a very high Day, and I found in myſelf afterwards great Satisfaction and Peace.

I now viſited Friends towards *Kendal*, and through Part of *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, into *Scotland*, having for my Companion a young Man from *Sedburg*, his Name was *John Blamore*. I found Friends in that Nation very much decreaſed in Number, above one Half, and ſundry Meetings quite dropt, unleſs when a Friend came to viſit them.

I ſpent about ſix Weeks in that Nation, but Nothing extraordinary happened: I returned into *Cumberland*, viſiting moſt of the Meetings in that County. Our Friends had at *Cockermouth* appointed a Meeting to be the Day after the Fair, at the Time call'd *Michaelmas*, and it being in the moſt hot Time of the Oppoſition the *Pearſons* gave to Friends; *Job* and his Brother being at that Fair on their Buſineſs, they gave out, that they would be at the Meeting the next Day, which gave an Alarm to both Town and Country People, ſo that it was a very

very large Meeting; and as *Job* and I had been very friendly before he fell into these ranting Fits, some Friends thought he would shew me some Respect, more than he had done to some others, having been heard at Times to speak in my Favour: But *James Dickenson* being present, whom they had abused so very much, said, *I should be pleased to see a friendly Meeting between* Job *and my Friend, but I little expect it.* The Meeting came on, and was very large, and very open, and quiet, neither *Job* nor his Brother came, being otherwise employed; having some Concerns with some Country-men in the Fair, they went to an Ale-house to settle their Affairs, and differ'd so much about them, that from Words they proceeded to Blows, and this Fray held the Time of the Meeting, so we were free from any of their Disturbance, and a sweet, comfortable, quiet Meeting we had to great Satisfaction.

From *Cockermouth* I visited the rest of the Meetings in that Part of the County, and so into *Westmorland* again, visiting all the Meetings in that County, and through the Dales to *Richmond*, and *York* Quarterly-meeting the Winter Quarter, which was very large, considering the Season of the Year. I had sundry satisfactory Times amongst Friends, both in Meetings of Business and amongst the Ministers, in very freely opening, and shewing my dear Brethren and Sisters, in the Openings of divine Life, the Experience and Knowledge that I had attained to in the Work of the Gospel, finding my Spirit much enlarged in the setting forth thereof. But the last Meeting I was at in *York*, was on the first

day in the Evening by Candle light, and the Crowd in the Houſe was ſo very great, that the Candles would hardly burn, ſome died quite out with the Breath of the People; the exceſſive Croud made it very troubleſome for want of Room, and not ſo edifying as if the Company had been leſs.

From thence I went to *Bridlington*, *Ouſtwick*, *Northcave*, viſiting Meetings till I came to *Bradford* and *Leeds*: I had ſome very large open Meetings in that Part, as at *Brighouſe*, *Highflats Sheffield*, &c.

I travelled to *Nottingham*, and had ſome Meetings in that County, and ſo on to *Leiceſter*, had ſundry ſmall Meetings thereabout, and ſome who were convinced in my firſt travelling thither, were glad to ſee me, and I them, ſo we claimed Kindred in the Truth.

I now made a kind of a ſhort Viſit in my Way to *London*, which I viſited thoroughly, ſtaid in the City four Weeks, and had very good Satisfaction: Returning through Part of *Berkſhire*, I had at *Reading* two very large Meetings, and ſo into *Dorſetſhire*, having no Meetings after *Reading* till I came there, and ſo to the Quarterly-meeting in *Somerſetſhire*, which being the Spring Quarter, was held at *Glaſtonbury*, very large it was indeed. Then back to *Somerton* Monthly-meeting, viſiting Meetings to and fro, being at ſundry Funerals, both before and after the Yearly-meeting at *Briſtol*, which was this Year very large. From that Meeting I went towards *London*, viſiting Meetings in my Way thither, and after Yearly-meeting was over I returned by

Alton,

Alton, *Ailsford*, *Rumsey*, *Southampton*, and the *Isle of Wight*, and back to *Ringwood* to the Quarterly-meeting for *Hampshire* and to *Pool* Yearly-meeting, it being there this Year. After which I came to *Bridport*, quartering at *Caleb Hills*, who married my Niece; and this Summer, before the Yearly-meeting at *London*, I had made my Addresses to the Widow *Nichols*, leaving the Matter to her Consideration, and now I renewed the Suit. And in the *Eighth-Month*, with sundry other Friends, went to sollicit the Parliament for an *Amendment* of the *Affirmation*, in which Undertaking we were favoured with Success, which was of very great Advantage to the Society, and the good Effects of it soon appeared.

I returned home in the Spring, and then proceeded in my Addresses to the Widow, and we were married in the *Second-Month*, 1722, and we went to *London* Yearly-meeting together, which was to very great Comfort.

I returned directly Home with my Wife, and being in a Coach, had no Opportunity of visiting Meetings either going or coming. Being got safe Home, I applied myself to assist my Wife in her Business as well as I could, attending General, Monthly and other Meetings on publick Occasions for three Years: Then I had a Concern to visit *America* once more, which my poor Wife could not at first with Ease consent to, although I had laid it before her when I first made my Addresses to her, yet when it came to be put in Practice was not easily got over. But afterwards she gave me freely up to go with my

Son-in-Law; and I got ready and went off, before it was thought of by almoſt any Body but the Friends in our own Neighbourhood. However, that it might not look like ſtealing away, I wrote to ſome of my choſen Friends at *London*, in the North, *Briſtol*, and elſewhere throughout this Nation, and to ſome few in *Ireland*, being willing to adviſe them where to meet me with Letters in that Country. Now having nothing to do more, my Wife brought me on my Way to *Pool*, at which Place, before I went off, I received Anſwers to ſundry of my Letters, ſome of which, if Brevity did not require the Contrary, would well deſerve a Place here.

I ſhall now proceed to my laſt Journey into *America*, *viz.*

An ACCOUNT *of my* TRAVELS *in* AMERICA, *the ſecond Time, being in* 1726, *and in the Fiftieth Year of my Age.*

I Left my own Home the 22d Day of the *Tenth-Month* 1726, being accompanied by my dear Wife, a Kinſman, and a Son-in-Law, to *Pool*, being to take Shipping there with my Son-in-Law *Joſiah Nickleſon*, but the Ship was not quite ready; and when it was ready, the Wind being againſt us, were obliged to ſtay there about five Weeks, ſo I had ſundry ſatisfactory Opportunities both amongſt Friends and others.

All being ready, my Wife alſo gone Home ſome Days before, and the Wind fair, we ſet ſail out of *Stutland-bay*, the 24th of the *Eleventh-Month*, with

with a fair Wind and pleaſant Weather, which carried us a conſiderable Diſtance off the Land; but it held but three Days, and then we had very contrary hard Winds after that, which made me very ſick, and other ways out of Order, ſo that I almoſt deſpaired of my Life for a few Days, but had great Comfort and Peace of Mind, being ſatisfied I was in my Place, and in the Way of my Duty. I recovered as the Weather grew better, and the Sea quieter, but we had a very long and tedious Paſſage, being eleven Weeks and two Days upon the Sea, from Land to Land; and on the 14th of the *Second-Month* 1727, we landed at *Hampton* otherwiſe *Kickatan* in *Virginia*, and that Evening I got a Paſſage in a *Pool* Ship up to *Sleepy-hole*, and that Night about the 11th Hour I got to *Robert Jordan*'s, being very glad, tho' very weary, that I was got to ſo good a Place, where I had ſo hearty a Welcome, and had ſo great an Income of Peace and Comfort. This being on the Seventh-day of the Week, the next Morning I went to a Funeral about twenty Miles, which was a long Journey on my firſt Arrival; and conſidering the Inhabitants are but thin, there was a great Concourſe of People on the Occaſion, and I had a pretty open Time, conſidering I had not quite recovered my Weakneſs; beſides, the Motion of the Sea was very much in my Head, ſo that I had a great Dizzineſs and Swimming, that made me to reel like a Drunkard, as is common in the like Caſe.

That Night I went with my Friend *Robert Jordan* to an Inn, near to the Place where his Son *Robert*

was a Priſoner, who was a pretty Youth, and had a very ſerviceable Miniſtry. The Father and I ſtaid with the Priſoner all the next Day, and in the Evening went to lodge at the Priſoner's Houſe, his poor Wife being alone; and although her Huſband was confined, ſhe was chearful. We had a Meeting in the Priſon to good Satisfaction, many People came to it, and were very orderly.

I then had a Meeting at the Weſtern Branch of *Nanſemund* River, and was at a Funeral of a young Man who was very much lamented.

I went that Night towards *Chuckatuck*, where I had a fine comfortable Opportunity, and on the Road, I had ſome Diſcourſe with an antient Friend, concerning the Health of the Country, we ſuppoſing People did not live ſo long in *Virginia* as in *Europe*. This Friend told me, the firſt Man-child that was born in the Province of *Engliſh* Parents lived eighty Years, and that many ſince had lived conſiderably longer; ſo that it's not the Climate, but the Intemperance of the People, that ſhortens their Days, for Experience made it appear, that temperate People lived much the ſame Time as they do in *Europe*. But this Firſt-born of the Province was very remarkable, for it was ſaid that he was diſaffected to the then government, and had uttered ſome treaſonable Expreſſions againſt it, and for that Cauſe was tried, and found guilty, being condemned to die for that Crime: But when it was made appear, that he was the firſt Male-child born in the Province of the *Engliſh* Nation, it was reſolved, that he ſhould be pardoned. Thus he was preſerved from that untimely End,

End, to run out Nature's Race, which was eighty Years.

I went after this Meeting to visit the Prisoner, and next day was at a Funeral, the People being very humble, by reason of a great mortality, so that preaching the Gospel had a very great Reach upon them, and several were convinced: Next Day I went to *Levy-neck*, had a Meeting, and went next Day to *Surrey* Meeting-house to a Funeral, having been at four in about two Weeks. After this I took a Turn round again to *Levy-neck*, otherwise *Pagan Creek*, and had a Meeting. Thence to *Raskers-neck*, had a Meeting, and so round till the Quarterly-meeting was at hand; and then came on to the Prisoner's House, *viz. Robert Jordan's*, to lodge. Next Day at the Meeting I met a Friend of *London*, his Name was *Joshua Fielding*, who had visited the Island, and *South-Carolina*, and had travell'd by Land to *North-Carolina*, about five Hundred Miles, in about three Weeks, mostly alone, which was a difficult and hazardous Attempt: Some thought it too great an Undertaking, and seemed to blame him for it, but he got safe through, tho' he had no Provision but what he carried with him, and met with but about four or five Houses or Plantations in all that five Hundred Miles Travel, which obliged him to lodge in the Woods frequently; but having a small Pocket Compass, that was his Guide, when the Sun and Stars were hid from him. But I have since heard, that some others have travelled over this same Ground, (Plantations and Settlements being now placed at proper Distances) with less Hardship, *viz.*

they

they having a Road mark'd out by the Government, and now they may accompliſh this Journey without ſo frequently lying in the Woods, as when this Friend came from thence. I was at the Quarterly-meeting which held the *Seventh* and *Firſt-day*, and it being very hot Weather, made it a little tedious to bear, there being a great Croud of People, but the Meetings ended well, and were of good Service.

Thence I went to *Levy-neck*, and viſited all the Meetings up to *Curl*'s on the Bank of *James*'s *River*, had an open good Meeting there, though ſmall. Thence to *Gerrard Elliſon*'s and had a large and open Meeting. Thence to *Rappahannock* Ferry, travelling ſixty Miles that Day: I lodged at a poor Widow's Houſe, no Friend by Profeſſion, but ſhe was exceeding kind. I had ſomething to ſay in Prayer before Meat, with which ſhe was greatly affected, and broken into Tears very much, with ſome others of the Family. When we left her in the Morning, ſhe would not be prevailed upon to take any Thing for our Quarters, but deſired that ſhe might be favoured with ſuch Gueſts often. I gave her Children ſomething, and we left her in much Love and Tenderneſs. Thence I travelled towards *Maryland*, about ſeventy Miles, and had but one Meeting in the Way, where lived one *William Duff*, who was at that Time a very tender and ſerviceable Man. The Yearly-meeting in *Maryland* came now on, which held four Days, *viz.* Three for Worſhip, and one for Buſineſs. Many People reſort to it, and tranſact a deal of Trade one with another, ſo that it is a kind of Market or Change, where the Captains

tains of Ships and the Planters meet and settle their Affairs; and this draws abundance of People of the best Rank to it. It being in that called the *Whitsun-week.*

After this Meeting I visited the Province on that Side of the Bay, fully from *Potuxant*, and some Places where Meetings had not been, missing no Place till I came up to the Head of the Bay; but Nothing uncommon happened at those Meetings, which were about eight in all. Then I ferried over the great River *Susquehannah* to *Nottingham*, in *Pennsylvania:* Some Friends came from thence into *Maryland* to meet me, and conduct me over that large Ferry, which was attended with pretty much Danger, it being a wide and very rough Sea, and I seemed in more Danger than I was upon the Ocean in the greatest Storm we met with, but through Mercy we all got safe over, altho' with hard Labour and great Care and Difficulty; and the first Meeting that I had in that Province was in *Nottingham*, and I had two in that Township. Then I visited the Meetings as they came in course, as *New-garden*, *London-grove*, *Kennet*, *Concord*, *Chester*, *Spring-field*, and so to *Philadelphia*. A great Number of Friends came out of *Philadelphia* to meet me, which gave me great Uneasiness, fearing I should never be enabled to answer the high Expectations that were raised by such a Conduct; and it were better to forbear such Doings, for it is rather a Hurt than a Help. Now I shall give my Opinion of those Meetings which were so very large, several of them amounting to fifteen Hundred, and some more, and mostly

moſtly another Generation; but very few of the Elders, that twenty Years before were ſerviceable, zealous Men, were now living; and many of the riſing Youth did come up in the Form more than in the Power and Life, that their Predeceſſors were in; nevertheleſs, there was a fine living People amongſt them, and they were in a thriving good Way, ſundry young Miniſters being very hopeful, both Men and Women.

I was at three Meetings in *Philadelphia*, exceeding large, more like Yearly-meetings than common *Firſt-day's* Meetings; after which I ſtaid but two Nights, being in haſte to reach a Yearly or Quarterly-meeting, near 300 Miles further North, at *Newport* on *Rhode-Iſland*, ſo I travelled from thence to *Burlington*, *Croſſwicks*, *Stony-brook*, and *Woodbridge*, and had Meetings at all theſe Places. Then to *Long-Iſland*. I was at a Yearly-meeting, as they call'd it, at *New-town* on the firſt Day of the Week; it was very large of both Friends and other People. There I found ſundry of my former Friends, as *John Rodman*, *Hugh Copperthwaite*, *Samuel Bowne*, and ſundry others, that had been of great Comfort and Support to me in my Impriſonment on that Iſland, and we were truly glad to ſee and enjoy each other in the Truth of the Goſpel.

Thence I took my Journey through *Connecticut*, near two Hundred Miles, to *Rhode-Iſland*, and I went round from *Newport*, viſiting the Meetings, as at *Seconnet*, *Cockſet*, *Dartmouth*, and back to the Iſland, and ſo to the Quarterly-meeting at *Newport*, which was very large and continued three Days. I

was

was largely drawn forth to the Elders and Miniſters, there being pretty many of them, and had very good Satisfaction in all their Meetings. Thence back to a Monthly-meeting at *Dartmouth*, which was very large; but a Narrowneſs of Spirit did ſome Hurt amongſt them, and produced ſome Uneaſineſs, which I endeavoured to remove, which was chiefly occaſioned by a young Man's being, as ſome thought, too much in the Faſhion, although plain, compared with ſome others; yet ſome thought this Reaſon ſufficient to refuſe his Propoſal of Marriage among them, although well recommended from the Monthly-meeting where he was a Member; upon which I ſhewed them, that as he was ſo well recommended by Certificate, they could not reject his Propoſal according to our Diſcipline. The Meeting, after we had ſome farther Conference about it, let the young People proceed, and Matters grew eaſy, and that Cloud of Difference diſperſed and vaniſhed, which was like to hurt both Monthly-meetings.

From thence I went about five Miles to one *Joſeph Ruſſell*'s, in order to take ſhipping for the Iſland of *Nantucket*. We met with ſome Difficulty in the Paſſage, and were obliged to put into the Iſland called *Martha*'s *Vineyard*, but had no Meeting in it. After landing on *Nantucket* on the ſixth Day of the Week, Notice being given, the next Day we had a very large Meeting in the Forenoon, and on *Firſt-day* it was much greater, eſpecially in the Afternoon, the Inhabitants generally inclining to Friends, there was great Love and Unity amongſt them. I deſired a ſelect Meeting of the Elders, to whom I had

had something in particular relating to *Discipline* and the *Ministry*, which was of good Service, and well accepted. I staid two Meetings more, and visited sundry Families on the Island, and then took shipping back again, was two Nights on board, and being in an open Boat, and the Weather very hot, it was tedious; several of the Island came with us, and we landed at *John Russell*'s; and from thence (having *Nathaniel Starbuck* with me) to a small Meeting called *Seepecan*, and so to *Suckenaset*. Here a Man gave some Uneasiness, by raising Objections about the *Light*, as not being *universal*, rendering the Doctrine, as he would expound it, against *Reason*, urging, that the natural Consequence must hold forth *as many Christs as People*, that were enlightened by him. To which I answered, by alluding to the natural Sun, which enlightens the Earth, and every Dwelling, so that we frequently say, when the Rays of Light from the Sun come into the Room, *the Sun shines into it*; but the Sun is not therefore divided, but 'tis the same Sun that enlightens the House here, that does the same to another elsewhere: *Even so is the Light of Christ*: He is the true Light that enlighten's *every Man* coming into the World. Thus expounding and illustrating the Doctrine of the Light, the People who were but a few, seemed much affected therewith, I had also in my Doctrine that Day laid down, the Kingdom of God or of Heaven to be *within*, and that it was equally *universal* with the Light; but at that he cavilled likewise, but made Nothing of it, for I had it upon me to open and set forth what the Kingdom in this

Place

Place meant, and how it ought to be underſtood, plainly ſhewing, that by the *Kingdom of Heaven* was meant the *divine Seed* in the Heart, otherwiſe called the *Grace of God*, which, as every one makes the Rule of their Actions, in both a moral and religious Conduct, it teaches us our Duty to God and one another, by which we are brought under the Government of Chriſt, and thereby made Partakers of that Peace within, which may be juſtly term'd the *Kingdom of Heaven within*. So the Objections thus made by this forward Man, though weak and impertinent, gave Opportunity to explain the Doctrine of the Goſpel more clearly, ſo that altho' ſuch Objectors ſeldom intend any Good, yet Good often comes out of their Objections.

From thence I travelled to *Sandwich*, *Yarmouth*, *Scituate*, and then to a Meeting where *Michael Wanton* lived, and ſo for *Boſton*, viſiting the Meetings to *Lynn*, *Marblehead* and *Salem*; but nothing happened at any of theſe Meetings worthy of Note. I came to *Newbury*, the Town which I mention'd in my firſt Journey, but there were very few Friends here now, not above nine or ten in all. The People had Notice, but the Room was very ſmall, and the Prieſt came, and did all he could to hinder the People from coming in, and made a very great Noiſe concerning the Danger of our Principles and Doctrines. I endeavoured to preſs him to ſhew *wherein*; but he evaded that as much as poſſibly he could, and charged in *General*; but by being cloſely preſs'd upon, at laſt he pitched upon our *denying* the *Scriptures*, *Baptiſm* and the *Supper*, and the *Reſurrection*

of

of the *Body*. I bid him hold, and firſt prove that we *denied* the *Scriptures*, and ſo the reſt in order, as they came in courſe: For I aſſerted, that *we owned the Scripture*; and he ſaid, *we did not*: And I demanded Proof of him, otherwiſe he muſt be concluded a falſe Accuſer. He went about it, but could make nothing of it. When he had ſaid what he could, I told him, his Accuſation in this Point relating to the *Scriptures* muſt be *falſe*, for that it was publickly known, that both in our Preaching, and alſo in our Writings, frequent Recourſe was had to the *Text*, to prove our Doctrine, and this muſt be a plain Demonſtration and Proof, that we owned the Scriptures. The People allowed this to be right: And he coming ſo lame off at firſt, would proceed no farther in that public Manner, but would have me go to his Houſe, and talk theſe Matters over in his Cloſet. I told him his Meeting-houſe was more proper for ſuch a Conference than his Cloſet, and there I would meet him when he pleaſed; for I told him, that I had heard that he treated the Doctrines held by us, in his Pulpit, very unhandſomely, where he knew none dared to oppoſe him, and if he would clear theſe Things up, I ſhould be pleaſed with an Opportunity to hear him do it in as public a Way as he had defamed us, either to make Proof of his Charges, or retract them; but he would not permit any ſuch Things: He had charged Friends with *denying the Scriptures*, *Chriſt*, the *Reſurrection of the Body*, and that we pretended to *Revelation now*, although, as he ſaid, it was ceaſed ſome Generations ſince But he being a hot, weak Man, juſt ſet

up

up in his Trade, did endeavour to ingratiate himself this Way into the Minds of the People, but he loſt Ground by it greatly, ſo that as he could make Nothing of it but Noiſe and Tumult, we parted; and I was told, that ſome of his own People blamed him much, for the Interruption he gave me, and for endeavouring to hinder the People from coming to hear for themſelves.

From thence I went to *Aimſbury*, *Hampton*, &c. it was *Hampton* Monthly-meeting, which held but one Day. I was concerned to ſtir up Friends to keep a faithful Record of all their Sufferings, to be made Uſe of as Occaſion might require, the Prieſts Hearers making Spoil of Friends Goods to ſupport their own falſe Miniſtry, with which ſome People were ſo uneaſy and oppreſs'd, that Complaints in almoſt every Townſhip appeared againſt them.

From thence I came to *Dover*, it was their Monthly-meeting likewiſe: They were very raw, and managed their Affairs but indifferently, chiefly occaſioned for want of ſome better Hands to write and keep their Books in Order. I was likewiſe concerned here to put them upon recording their Sufferings, and in a Way how to do it; for they were Sufferers not only on Account of the hireling Preachers, to maintain them in their Pride and Idleneſs, but alſo on the Account of bearing Arms, which was likewiſe pretty heavy upon them in ſome Towns; but then in others their Neighbours were moderate, and made not much ado about them: But ſome did comply to pay off their Quota about bearing of Arms, who would not pay a Doit to the Parſon, they ſee-

ing very clearly, that they were wrong, and preached themſelves, and for themſelves. We had a fine agreeable Time in Conference, and there appeared both great Sincerity and Innocency amongſt them; I was at their *Firſt-day* Meeting, which was very large, and to great Satisfaction. After Meeting, finding that ſome Miſunderſtanding was amongſt them about the Building of a Meeting-houſe, we got them together, (my dear Friend *Nathaniel Starbuck* from *Nantucket* being ſtill with me) and we endeavoured and perſuaded them to Peace and Love, in which we were ſucceſsful: We appointed a Meeting to be held there, which was attended by all, or the greateſt Part of Friends of that Monthly-meeting, and a fine comfortable Opportunity we had, and they ſeemed all very eaſy and reconciled one to another.

Thence I went to *Strawberry-bank*, otherwiſe called *Portſmouth*, but it proved an unſuitable Time, becauſe all the Country was come together, the Military Part eſpecially, with all their Arms and Accoutrements of War, to proclaim King GEORGE the *Second*, (News being come three Weeks before, that his Father died on his Way to *Hanover*) and alſo on Account of the Peace that was concluded with the *Indians*: However, notwithſtanding the vaſt Crowd and Hurry, we had a very quiet, though but ſmall Meeting; and Notice being whiſpered, that there was to be a Marriage at *Dover* on a Day appointed, many in Curioſity came to it, and the People ſeemed much pleaſed with our Way of Marrying, few of them having been at any before. All

ended

ended quiet, without any Diſpute. Then we had another Meeting at the new Meeting-houſe, after which I found a Concern to deſire an Opportunity with the Miniſters and Elders, which was very readily granted; and I was much concerned to requeſt and adviſe both the Miniſters and Elders, to endeavour to keep in the Unity of the Spirit amongſt themſelves, that they might be good Examples to the Flock, over which they were to watch, and to be ready and willing to adminiſter good Counſel, which the Apoſtle calls *feeding of the Flock*; and this he recommends to the Elders as their Buſineſs: And that the Miniſters look well to their Gifts, carefully avoiding either to abridge or enlarge in their Miniſtry beyond the true Opening of Life in themſelves, labouring with Diligence and Humility to evince the Truth of their Words by their own Conduct, that no Blemiſh or Spot might appear amongſt them, nor any juſt Ground to reproach them with teaching others what they did not practiſe themſelves, being careful in Conduct, that their Words and Actions might be agreeable; this would give Authority to their Miniſtry, and attract Honour and Reſpect from their Hearers.

From thence I went to viſit the Widow *Hanſon*, who had been taken into Captivity by the *Indians*, an Account of which I took from her own Mouth, being in Subſtance as followeth: 'Eleven naked 'Indians came with Violence upon the Family, and 'killed two of the Children juſt as they entred the 'Houſe; two little Boys more being at Play behind 'the Houſe, when they heard the Noiſe, came

'running in great Surprize, the younger of whom 'could not be prevailed with to moderate his Grief, 'whereupon one of the *Indians* with a *Tomhawk* (a 'little Hatchet) ſtruck him on the Head and kil- 'led the poor Child, to rid themſelves of the Noiſe, 'and to prevent their being diſcovered, and to ſtrike 'the greater Terror upon thoſe in the Houſe. Then 'they rifled the Houſe of what they thought pro- 'per to carry away. They took the poor Woman, 'who had lain in but two Weeks, along with them 'by Force and Violence, with her little Infant, and 'two Daughters, one Son, and a Servant Maid; it 'being in the Afternoon, the *Indians* were in a 'great Hurry to force them away as far as they could 'that Night, for fear of being purſued, and the 'Priſoners retaken. Thus they travelled for twenty 'Days, paſſing through many Lakes and Rivers; 'notwithſtanding which they took no Cold, but 'their Health was preſerved.' The incredible and ſevere Trials the poor Woman and her Children went through, during their Captivity, I cannot here diſcribe to the full, in all which they were remarkably ſavour'd by Providence, induring hard Labour, though they were drove to very great Straits for want of Proviſions, being neceſſiated to eat old Bear and Beaver-ſkin Match-coats, firſt ſingeing the Hair off. After my Return to *Europe*, I ſaw at *Dublin* a Relation of this extraordinary Affair in a printed Narrative, which was brought over by a Friend from *America*.

Now being eaſy to leave theſe Parts for the preſent, I returned towards *Hampton*, but in the Way had a comfortable

comfortable Meeting at a Town called *Stratham*, and so to *Hamton*, *Aimsbury*, *Haverill* and *Newbury*, the Place where the Priest before had given so much Disturbance; but although he had Notice of the Meeting, he came not, and but a very few of his People; it was but a small Meeting, yet peaceable.

Then I returned to *Lynn*, where was a Yearly-meeting, which was very large, and I had good Service in it. Then to *Salem*, it being their Yearly-meeting for Worship, and Quarterly-meeting for Discipline, which was exceeding large; they had a Meeting of Ministers and Elders, in which I was much enlarged in Advice to both: Then came on the Quarterly-meeting, in which for want of better Writers and Method, they were somewhat deficient in their Business, whereby it became tedious to themselves; I endeavoured to put them in a better Method, which they took very kindly and well: And after this was ended, a Parting-meeting of Worship came on, which was very large, and was attended by abundance of *Presbyterians* and other People: I was very much drawn forth into various Branches of Doctrine, and the Meeting ended well; no Cavil or Dispute arising, which they are but too liable to. I was informed, that what I had delivered was taken down in Writing, but I never saw it tho' a Friend afterwards had a Sight of it, and the Writer said, he did it with a View to have it printed by Subscription, and get something by it.

Not finding myself clear, I returned back with Friends to *Haverill*, and next Day had a comfortable little Meeting: Thence to *Hampton* and *Dover*, it was Yearly-meeting there: They having in almost

every Place once a Year a General-meeting, which they call a Yearly-meeting, and by this popular Title abundance more People come together, in Expectation of ſomething extraordinary there to be met with; it held two Days, and was to very good Content. Next Day I had a Meeting on *Kitteryſide*, in an old Meeting-houſe that the *Preſbyterians* had erected, but not being in ſo convenient a Place for them, they had left it. Many, both Friends and others came, and before it was quite gathered, the Prieſt with a large Company came in, and immediately began to pray, continuing a long Time: But as ſoon as he had done, I ſpoke to the People with, ſome Authority, which ſeem'd to daunt the Prieſt, who it was thought intended to have taken up all the Time himſelf, and to have put us by; if he had ſucceeded, they would have gloried and triumph'd much, but therein they were diſappointed. In the Courſe of my Miniſtry, I inſiſted on the Danger of *neglecting* the Work of our Salvation, ſpeaking cautiouſly, that ſuch an *Omiſſion* might be irreparable. The Prieſt replying, ſaid, that ſhould be expreſs'd, *will be irreparable*. I deſired him not to diſturb us, for we did not him; and repeating my Words over again, with this Addition, I dare not ſpeak *concluſively* of the Mercy of God, who is able by Chriſt to ſave us at the *Hour of Death*. After this he was ſilent, only writing when he thought he had any Room to cavil, but he was ſoon weary, for I was very ſtrong both in Power and Doctrine, and great Tenderneſs was among the People, which was ſtrange to him, and Scripture came very apt to confirm my Doctrine; the

the Prieſt growing weary would ſtay no longer, but walked off, inviting the People to go with him, but very few went. We had a very good ſerviceable Opportunity, the Meeting ended very quiet and well.

Next Day I went to *Portſmouth*, having been there before at an improper Time, but now we had an excellent Meeting; then I was at the new Meeting-houſe, about which they had had ſome Uneaſineſs; we had a Meeting to very good Satisfaction, and Friends appeared well reconciled. Then I went once more to viſit the Widow *Hanſon* at *Knox march*, that had, as before, been taken Captive. From thence to *Stratham*, having had a Meeting there two or three Weeks before, and the People were then very much affected: But the Prieſt hearing of it, was very uneaſy, and went amongſt his Hearers, begging and praying them not to converſe with the *Quakers*, if they could avoid it, ſo that we had but few that came, amongſt whom was a Man in Drink, that did cavil, and would pretend to a Diſputation, but he was ſo much in Liquor that he rambled in his Diſcourſe, and knew not what he ſaid; he went away in a Rage, curſing as he went along. Thence I came to *Hampton*, and *Aimſbury*, and had Meetings at both Places. Thence to *Newbury* and had a Meeting, to which the Prieſt was again invited, but he did not come near us. Next Day I was at their Monthly-meeting, which was but dull. Next Day I was up in the Woods, at a new Place, where there were many People, and we had a good Meeting. Next Day I was at a Marriage, which was held

held in a *Preſbyterian* Meeting-place, a very commodious handſome Houſe, and would contain near two Thouſand People, as ſome ſaid; however, it was as full as it could well contain, and the Meeting was very eaſy and quiet: Sundry Teachers from the neighbouring Towns were there, and I was doubtful of ſome Jangling and Diſpute, but all went off very quiet and well: I was largely opened to ſet forth the Service of our Monthly-meetings, with reſpect to taking Care of the Poor, deciding of Differences, and taking Cognizance of Marriages: At which the People ſeemed pleaſed, wondering that they had no ſuch Order amongſt them: This was a very high Day, and ended well. Next Day I went to *Lynn*, had ſundry Meetings at freſh Places about *Lynn*, *Marblehead*, *Salem*, and in ſeveral little Villages towards *Boſton*: Taking my leave of Friends in that Part of the Country, I came to *Boſton*, and had two Meetings there. Then I went to *Mendam*, *Providence* and *Swanſey*, alias *Wickapinſett*, and had Meetings; and then to *Scituate* Yearly-meeting, which held two Days, but nothing happen'd uncommon, ſave that the Parting-meeting at *Pembrook* was very large, very open, and to good Satisfaction: I had a ſmall Meeting at *Hanover* and *Free-town*, and ſo back to *Wickapinſett* again, and then for *Rhode-Iſland* Quarterly-meeting: The firſt Day I had ſomething to ſay to the Miniſters and Elders about the *Diſcipline of the Church*, warning them to look diligent'y to the Flock; and letting them know, that the Apoſtacy was partly occaſioned thro' the Miniſters and Elders neglecting their Duty, *&c.* Next Day was the Meeting of Miniſters and Elders,

and

and I was very much drawn forth to both. Then I had a Meeting at *Providence* middle Meeting-houſe, which was ſmall, but pretty well. Then by *Mendam* I went to *Leiceſter*, and had a ſweet good Time with a few ſeeking People, and in the Evening I had a long Conference with a young Woman about the *Sabbath*, the *Sacraments*, (ſo call'd) and ſome other Points; in all which ſhe ſeemed very tender, and in a good Frame. I told her, I would not treat her as a Diſputant, in an adverſe Temper, but as a Siſter and Friend in the ſame Faith in Degree: But ſhe complained much of the Bondage of her Education, and lamented her Caſe.

From thence I went to *Oxford*, where was no Meeting ſettled, nor any Friend in that Place; the Prieſts did all that in them lay to hinder the People from coming to hear Friends, when any came amongſt them, if they knew it; however, we had a good Opportunity. Thence to the Meeting in that great Houſe, not far from *Seth Aldrich*'s, which was a fine full and comfortable Meeting. Then to the Upper Meeting-houſe, and ſo to *Moſhantatuck*, and to *Warwick*, and had Meetings in thoſe Places. I was deſired to ſtay to attend a Diſpute. One *Hugh Adams*, a Prieſt, had challenged Friends, he having undertaken to prove *Infant-ſprinkling* from Scripture, to be an Ordinance of Chriſt. But in the Proof he came off very lamely, *Samuel Aldrich*, an excellent and ingenious Diſputant, was by appointment to manage the Argument on Friends Side, and none elſe: But ſuch Arguments the Prieſt brought

brought for their *Sprinkling* as were entirely new to the Audience ; one was, the *Spray* of the Red Sea, when the Children of *Iſrael* went through it, by the ſtrength of the Wind *ſprinkling* the Children, *viz.* Infants, as well as old People ; and as the Apoſtle ſaid, *They were all baptized in the Cloud, and in the Sea.* This was full Proof of the Point for *Infant-ſprinkling*, he ſaid. But *Samuel* made an excellent ſhort Diſcourſe on the Text, very much to the Purpoſe, and he had ſo much the Aſcendant in the Argument on every Branch, that the Prieſt loſt Ground, and ſeveral of his Brethren being there, were much aſhamed of him.

Then I returned back to *Rhode-Iſland*, and ſo to *Coakſet* Yearly-meeting, which was very large ; and then to *Dartmouth* Yearly-meeting, which was likewiſe very large, and that Evening was a Meeting of Miniſters, wherein I had much to ſay on ſundry Heads proper to them : And next Day being the Yearly-meeting, it was very large, as before, there being a great Reſort of People many Miles round. It held three Days, and ended to the Satisfacton of moſt. This Evening, as I was going to Bed, about ten at Night, there was an exceeding great Earthquake, that made a Noiſe like the driving of Carts or Waggons on an uneven Cauſeway ; it continued about two Minutes, to the great Surprize of the People. It was felt about fifteen hundred Miles, as was after computed, and as was thought by Calculation, was not quite three Hours in going that Space.

From thence I went into the Iſland; and took my laſt Farewell of my Friends in that Part of

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the Country, having made a thorough Visit amongst them. The Weather by this Time grew very cold, it being the Beginning of the *Ninth Month*; however, I proceeded to *Connecticut*, *James-town*, *Kings-town*, and to *Greenwich* Monthly-meeting. From thence *Seth Aldrich*, *John Casey*, *John Earle*, and *Peleg Spencer*, accompanied me, and we travelled into the *Presbyterian* Country; and first, at a Town called *Preston*, we had a small Meeting, and hearing of a Funeral about three Miles off, we went thither; the People (who, as we apprehended were *Baptists*) seemed much surprized, and our not joining a young Man who prayed amongst them, made them look more shyly on us; the poor Man seemed in Confusion: But when he had done, we had a fine Opportunity to good Satisfaction. Then we took our Journey towards *New-London*, and on the Way had a small Opportunity amongst some *Presbyterians*; such of them who were bigotted that Way, were hard to speak to about the *inward Work*, they could not receive it. Thence to *New-London* on *Groton* Side, to one *James Smith*'s who was one of *Rogers*'s Kind of *Baptists*, but his Wife was convinced, and they were under great Persecution by the *Presbyterians*, both in Body and Goods. I had a Meeting at *John Rogers*'s on *New-London* Side, and he objected against the *Universality* of the Light that saves, and about Baptism; he had much to say for the Continuance of Water-Baptism, but at the same Time would allow, that there was *no real Spiritual Benefit* in it at all; and he

he asserted, that that Light which condemns for Evil, was but the Tree of Knowledge and *not saving*; but Christ's Light which saves, was *another Thing*; endeavouring hereby to divide between the Light that *condemns*, and that which *saves*, making them two different Principles from each other. I took the Bible, and turning to the first of *John* the Evangelist, shewed him, that the Light there spoken of, as the Divinity of Christ the Saviour of the World, was the same Principle that *condemned* the Disobedient, and *justified* the Righteous; the Principle was not divided in itself, nor was it two Principles, but one and the same in all: And though the Operation of this one Light differed, that Difference, it was plain, was not in the Light itself, but in the different Object on which it did operate; as for Example, the same Heat of the Sun that *softens* Wax, will *harden* Clay; but this argues not two different Qualities in the Heat of the Sun, though the Effect of its Heat is different on Wax and Clay: By which (although this, or but few Allegories will hold throughout) the People saw, that his *Notion* of two different Lights, one *saving*, the other *condemning*, had no Foundation in the Text. Then as to *Baptism*, he divided the Institution into three Parts; *first*, from *John*; *secondly*, from the Apostles *practising* it; and *thirdly*, from *Mat.* xxviii. 19. But I told him, as he had already allowed that there was no real spiritual Advantage in outward Water-Baptism, his imaginary Division of the Institution fell of course; for 'twas against Reason to suppose

poſe any Thing *ordained* or *inſtituted* by Chriſt, to be uſed in his Church by Believers, could be of no *real Service*; but thou alloweſt that Baptiſm with Water is of no *real Service* therefore it's *no Inſtitution* of Chriſt: But to conclude this Head, we may comparatively with the Apoſtle ſay, That it's not the *outward* Part of *Chriſtianity*, or *Baptiſm*, will do any good to Believers, but in reality he is a *Chriſtian*, that is one *inwardly*: And Baptiſm is that of the *Heart*, and not that of the *Letter*, that is really *ſerviceable* and *ſaving*. Thus we ended this Conference; but he was full of Words, and confuſed in his Notions.

I had then another Meeting at *Groton*, though but ſmall; after that we had an Evening-meeting at one *John Wood*'s, which was the beſt we had amongſt that People, where ſome Objections were made againſt *publick Prayer*, but their Objections were ſoon removed. And afterwards at *Colcheſter* and *Hebron* we had ſome good Meetings amongſt the People, tho' it was very difficult to get a Place to meet in at the former: But a Man of Reſolution offered a Place, and there being a Town-meeting that Day, we had a large Company, who were very ſober, no Cavilling or Diſputes in the leaſt. Then we came to *Sea-brook* and *Killingſworth*, and had Meetings amongſt a People who had ſeparated themſelves from the *Preſbyterians*, and inclined to the *Baptiſts*, and were getting into a lifeleſs Form of ſinging, and expounding in their own Way and carnal Manner, which was likely to be a Snare to their Hurt: We appointed

pointed another Meeting amongſt them, which was but ſmall, all my Friends ſave *John Caſey* and *John Earle* having left me. We now ſet out for *New-York*, but had no Meeting till we came to *Rye*, which was about 81 Miles. I was glad and comforted to be amongſt our Friends again, having been ſo long from them, they being much more agreeable to me than other People. From thence I went to *Marrineck*, and over the Ferry to *Fluſhing*, and it being their Quarterly-meeting, which held three Days, the Meeting of Miniſters and Elders was of good Service, among them were ſome young Miniſters; at this Quarterly-meeting we had a ſolid Time, a large Appearance of young Friends of both Sexes being there. After this Meeting I went with *Joſhua Fielding* a little on his Way to the Eaſtward; and on returning, I went to viſit a Friend that was much afflicted with Lowneſs of Spirits, and in a deſpairing Way, although he had from his Youth been a very ſober and orderly Man, but Providence having favoured him with conſiderable Subſtance, he imagined he tranſgreſſed in having every Thing too faſhionable and too rich, and did not ſerve his Maker with his Subſtance as he ought to have done; this was a great Load upon him.

From thence I viſited *Weſtbury* on the Plain: Thence to *Sequatogue*, *Huntington*, and *Oyſter-bay*, and had good and very full Meetings. Thence to *Martinicock*, and to *Hempſtead*, where I had but middling Times, tho' very large Meetings: I was rather

rather more ſhut up than I had been for ſome Time before, and being deſired to go and give the poor deſpairing Friend another Viſit, I went, and found him much out of Order, which made it unpleaſant to be with him. From thence to *Hempſtead* and *Jamaica*, the Place where I had been ſo long a Priſoner twenty Years before, and had Meetings at both Places, but the latter was very ſmall for want of due Notice. Then to *Fluſhing* Monthly-meeting, which was much to my Comfort, not having had ſo good a Meeting for ſome Weeks before. I here receiv'd ſome Letters from Friends at the Eaſtward, which gave me ſome agreeable Accounts of the Effect my Labours had had, by inclining ſome to come to our Meetings who did not before, in ſeveral Places where I had Meetings, there being a Proſpect of ſome coming nearer to the Truth and joining the Society; withal informing me of the great Earthquake before noted, how that at *Newbury*, *Haverill*, *Aimſbury*, and Places adjacent, it continued for fourteen Days, and was felt a long Way on the Banks of *Maremack River*; the Account was confirm'd by many who felt it, who declared themſelves afraid to remain in their Houſes during the ſeveral Shocks, which returned every twenty-four Hours, continuing about the Space of three Minutes. The Inhabitants did much blame themſelves for their Pride and Luxury, taking this to be a Judgment upon them for thoſe Things.

I then went back to viſit *Weſtbury*, *Hempſtead*, *Rockway*, and had Meetings in all thoſe Places, and to *Jamaica* again, where we had a large open Meeting,

Meeting, and thoſe my old Neighbours, among whom I had been Priſoner in my firſt Journey, came generally, and were glad to ſee me, as I was to ſee them, and we had a comfortable Opportunity together. After which I viſited *New-Town*, *Fluſhing* and the *Kilns* by *New-Town*, having a large Meeting; and ſo to *New-York*, where I had an Evening-meeting, not very large. From thence to the *Narrows* over *Staten-Iſland*, and to *Woodbridge*, where I had a Meeting, and about three Miles diſtant an Evening-meeting. Then to *Shrewsbury* to their Week-day Meeting, which was ſmall, but very agreeable. Then to *Maneſquan*, and back to *Shrewsbury* on *Firſt-day*, where was a very large Meeting, and very ſerviceable. Thence to *Middle-Town*, where the *Baptiſts* lent us their Meetinghouſe to meet in, although they had given the Prieſt Leave to preach there that ſame Day, ſo that the Prieſt and his Hearers came ſome Time before our Meeting was ended, and enlarged it very much; no Cavil nor Diſpute happened, but all ended quiet and well. Thence to *Freehold*, and had a Meeting in the Court-houſe to good Purpoſe; although the People were of an ignorant Sort, who made no Profeſſion at all of any Religion, yet ſome of them were very well pleaſed with that Opportunity. Thence to *Allen's-Town* and *Croſwicks*, and was at their Meetings: Then went to viſit a Friend who ſometimes appeared in publick, and there was a Difference in Sentiments about his Appearance, ſome approved and others diſapproved his Miniſtry; but altho'

altho' the young Man had taken Offence at thoſe who did not like him, we got ſome of the moſt Diſaffected together, and gave him a Viſit, and by confering together, the young Man and thoſe who were diſſatisfied came to a better Underſtanding, which was to all our liking. Thence to *Stony-brook*, and *Allen's-Town*, and *Croſwicks* again, to the new Meeting-houſe, and to *Mount-Holly*, and had Meetings at them all to Content. Thence to one Meeting more, and to *Haddonfield* Meeting, *Woodbury-Creek*, *Pilesgrove*, *Alloway's-Creek*, and to *Cohanſey*; but the Weather being ſo exceſſive ſharp with the Extremity of Froſt, the Meetings were exceeding ſmall. From thence to *Salem*, and had a very large open Meeting there, and thence to *Haddonfield*, and *Philadelphia*, travelling over *Delaware-River* upon the Ice above a Mile, and came to their Week-day Meeting, which was very ſmall, by reaſon of the exceeding Sharpneſs of the Weather: It is almoſt incredible to think the Hardneſs of the Froſt in thoſe Parts; a Man could ſcarcely bear any Part of his Skin uncovered, for fear of being froze. I ſtaid in Town over *Firſt-day*, and from thence went to *Frankfort*, *German-Town*, *Abington*, and *Horſham*, and ſo back to *Philadelphia*, and ſtaid their Meeting of Miniſters, and was at three Meetings on *Firſt-day*, which were very large and good, eſpecially the firſt and laſt. Then I viſited *Hertford*, *Radnor*, *New-Town*, *Goſhen*, and the Quarterly-meeting for the County of *Cheſter*, held at *Providence*, which was very large, eſpecially the Meeting of the Mi-

niſters and Elders, (for there were there the greateſt Part of the Miniſters in the Province, and ſeveral from *Jerſey* Side) it was the biggeſt Meeting of Miniſters I ever was at in thoſe Parts, the Time of the Year conſider'd, and I was very much enlarged in Counſel and Advice to them, being never ſo opened on ſundry Heads before; and in the Meeting of Buſineſs I was drawn forth to ſhew the Qualifications of a right and true Elder, and the Excellency of right Government in the Church, which muſt firſt be known in our own Minds; for ſuch who have not the Government of their own Spirits, are not fit to undertake the Government of others. And after this I had a Meeting at *Middle-Town*, and ſo to *Providence* General Meeting, but I had very little to ſay in either of theſe laſt Meetings. Thence to *Darby*, and had a ſmall Meeting, and ſo to *Philadelphia*, and had a brave Meeting, inſomuch that I was fill'd with Admiration at ſo uncommon a Supply of new Doctrine every Day, which gave me great Cauſe to be more and more humble; and when ſome Friends would ſpeak in Favour of ſuch an Opportunity, or Branch of Doctrine, it would give me a Shock, leſt by any of theſe unwary Commendations, I ſhould take to myſelf that Honour which was due to the *Father of Spirits*, and ſo fall into a Robbery unawares.

From thence I went to *Plymouth*, *North-Wales*, *Buckingham*, *Wright's-Town*, the *Falls*, *Neſhaminy*, and *Briſtol*, and had ſatisfactory Opportunities tho' ſome

some more agreeable than others at each Place, and very full Meetings, the Season considered. From *Bristol* I went to *Burlington*, and was at their Meeting of Ministers, but had nothing to say; I staid the First-day Meeting, which was very large and serviceable; it was the Quarterly-meeting Time, and the Meeting of Ministers and Elders, and I having had such remarkable Times among the Ministers occasion'd these Meetings to be very large: At this Meeting I was divinely opened with fresh Matter, setting forth the Service of a divine, spiritual Ministry, which was free from all Contrivance and Forecast of the Creature, in preparing itself, either with former Openings, or beautiful Collections of Texts, or Sayings from Books or Writings, all which Gatherings would bring Death, and could be no other in the best and most favourable Construction, though well look'd on by some, than the Ministry of the *Letter*, under Pretence of the Ministry of the *Spirit*, which is a Deception of the highest Nature.

Then I came into *Pennsylvania* to *Wright's-Town*, was at their Meeting of Ministers, and had a very agreeable Time with them, wherein was shewn the Danger of Murmuring at the seeming Weakness of our Gifts to a Degree of Dejection, and Neglect to exercise ourselves in them, shewing that every Gift of the Ministry was of great Service, though but small in comparison of others, and had a great Beauty in it, and that we ought by no means to slight and neglect it, but to think well, and be thankful that the Father of Spirits hath given us a Gift, though but small. And on the other hand,

to exhort such as had a more elegant Ministry, not to overvalue themselves upon their Gifts, but in Humility and with thankful Hearts render the Honour and Praise where due, not looking with an Eye of Contempt on their supposed inferior Brethren and Sisters, but in Love preferring each other to themselves, more especially considering, that mean and plain Diet, handled by Persons who have clean Hands, and clean Garments, though but mean to look at, yet the Cleanness of their Hands and Garments, as also the Diet, though plain, put in decent Order renders what they have to offer very agreeable and acceptable to the Hungry, and for others we need not be so careful. A Friend pleasantly said after Meeting, at his Table, *I might freely eat, his Wife was a cleanly House-wife*, being willing to improve the Simile, to her Advantage, she having something to say, tho' but little, as a Minister, and her Husband thought she did not give way to her Gift as she ought. The next Day was Quarterly-meeting in the same Place, which was pretty large, and I was drawn forth to set the Degrees of Elders, as well as their different Services, in a proper Light, under the Similitude of the various Instruments made Use of in the erecting of a Building, and that every Instrument or Tool had its Service, when used as Occasion required, and every Builder to use them at a proper Time, and not otherwise. Thence I went over the River to the *Jersey* Side, to one Meeting, that was large. Thence back to *Neshaminy* again, and to *Bybury*, *Abington*, *Horsham*, *North-Wales*, and the great *Swamp*, and had a De-

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gree of Service and Satisfaction in all these Places. Thence I went to *North-Wales* to a Funeral. Thence to *Perkeoming*, had a small Meeting, and in coming from thence had an Evening-meeting at a Friend's House, his Name was *John Jacobs*. Thence to a Funeral at *Plymouth*, where was a very great Company, and a very good Meeting. Thence to *Philadelphia*, and was at their Half-yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders : Sundry Friends came from *Long-Island*, and I was largely opened in it to recommend a stedfast Conduct with Justice and a single Eye to Truth, and its Cause at all Times, and to set forth the Service of Elders and Pillars in the Church, shewing how a Pillar standing upright would bear a great Weight, but if it leaned to either Side, it would bend, and perhaps break before it could be set upright again; warning both Ministers and Elders against Party-taking and Party-making, advising them as careful Watchmen to guard the Flock, as such who must be accountable for their Trust, and in particular, not to dip into Differences, the Ministers especially, either in the Church or private Families, but to stand clear, that they might have a Place with both Parties, to advise and counsel, and so they might be of Service in reconciling those who were at Variance : And I had a Concern to caution the Ministers, in their Travels, not to meddle with Differences, so as to rashly say, *this is right*, or *that is wrong*, but to mind their own Service, guarding against receiving any Complaints of Friends Unfaithfulness before a Meeting, which

I had found very *hurtful* to me; for such Information, without a careful Watch, may influence the Mind to follow it rather than the true Gift. I had it also to caution the Ministers, in their Travels not to be hard to please with their Entertainment, but to shew themselves easy and contented with such as poor Friends could let them have, and to guard against carrying Stories and Tales from one Place to another; and as soon as their Service was done, to retire Home again; for some, by staying too long after their Service was ended, had much hurt themselves, and been an Uneasiness to the Church. I had likewise to caution against appearing too often or too long in our own Meetings, but that Ministers should wait in their Gifts for the Spirit to put them forth; that they carefully mind their Openings, and not go beyond Bounds, for if we do, we shall lose our Interest in the Minds of Friends, and our Service will be lost; always guarding against seeking after Praise, or saying any Thing in Commendation of our own Doings, neither to be uneasy when we have Nothing to say; as likewise to take Care at such large Meetings, not to be forward nor too long, because a Mistake committed in such a Meeting did much more Hurt than it might do in small Country Meetings. I likewise touch'd upon the great Duty of Prayer, requesting all to guard against running into too many Words without Understanding, but carefully to mind the Spirit, that they might pray *with it*, and with *Understanding also*.

Next Day was the Half-yearly-meeting, being the first-Day of the Week; I was largely opened to shew

ſhew the Difference between the true and falſe Church, letting them Side by Side, that they might judge for themſelves. I ſtaid all that Week in Town, the Meeting not ending till *Fourth-day*. I was at the *Firſt* and *Third-day's* Meetings following, and ſo took my Leave.

From thence I came to *Darby*, *Springfield*, *Merion*, *Cheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Chriſteen*, and *Newcaſtle*, and had tolerable good Meetings: Friends being acquainted that I was now taking my Leave of the Country, Meetings were very large, and ſeveral of them to good Satisfaction, much Openneſs and Brokenneſs appearing amongſt Friends. Thence to *George's-Creek*, *Duck-Creek*, *Motherkill*, *Hoarkills*, *Cold-Spring*, and ſo back to *Motherkill* and *Duck-Creek*; had pretty good Satisfaction in theſe Meetings: The Friends in theſe Parts were but ſeldom viſited, and but very few public amongſt them. The Prieſts, both *Church* and *Preſbyterians*, attempted to do ſomething, but the People being poor, and Penſion ſmall, they gave out for want of Pay.

From thence to *Cheſter* in *Maryland*, it was a Half-yearly-meeting, but the Weather being very unſeaſonable, made it but ſmall; it continued two Days, and the laſt Meeting was both largeſt and beſt. Thence to *Cæcil* and back to *Gilbert Faukner's*, and *John Tibbet's*, and *Duck-Creek*, had good Opportunities, and took my Leave after having one ſmall Meeting about nine Miles diſtant, and ſo went for the Quarterly-meeting in *Maryland* at *Treaahaven-Creek*, it was held in the great Houſe; a good Meeting, but I found ſome Difficulties and Miſun-

derſtandings among them, which did them much Hurt. Next was at a Monthly-meeting in the ſame Place, where the Uneaſineſs appeared more plain, but Endeavours were uſed to reconcile Matters, and put a ſtop to the Uneaſineſs. Thence to the *Bay-ſide*, *Tuckahoe*, *Marſhy-Creek*, *Choptank*, and had Meetings in all theſe Places. Thence to *France-quaking*, *Chickonancomaco*, *Nanticoke*, and over *Viana-Ferry* to *Mulberry-Grove*, and had ſmall, but comfortable Meetings in all theſe Places. Thence to the Widow *Gale*'s at *Monay*, and had a ſmall Meeting there in her Houſe. Thence to *Annuameſſicks*, and had a ſmall Meeting in the Widow *Waters*'s Houſe. Thence to *John Curtis*'s, and had a ſmall Meeting at his Houſe; ſo to *Thomas Crippin*'s, and had a Meeting in his Houſe, there being no Meeting-houſes in theſe Places: Then one Captain *Drummond* deſired a Meeting in his Houſe, which I aſſented to, and it was to good Content. This *Drummond* was a Judge of the Court, and a very ſenſible Man. Thence to *Neſwadocks*, where was a pretty good Meeting-houſe, and we had a very large and good open Meeting in it. Thence to *Magotty-Bay*, and had a very good Meeting at *Edward Miſſin*'s, a fine zealous Elder he was; he carried me over the Bay in his Boat (about twenty Leagues they call'd it) to *Nanſemund*, we landed at old *Robert Jordan*'s, and was at their Week-day Meeting. From thence went towards *Carolina*, *Joſeph Jordan* accompanying me on my Way to *Nathan Newby*'s, and his Son went with me to his Uncle *Gabriel*'s. Next Day I went to *Paſcotank*, and

and had a fine open Meeting, which was very large, for the Inhabitants moſtly came to Meetings there when they expected a Preacher, and at other Times pretty much. I viſited a young Man in the Neighbourhood, a pretty Miniſter, but in a declining Way; we had a comfortable Time with him, he being in a good Frame of Mind, fit to die. Thence to *Little-River*, and to *Perquiman*'s Booth, to the upper and lower Meeting-houſe, and had very large Meetings. Thence *Gabriel Newby* accompanied me towards *Virginia* back again; the firſt Meetings we had were at the *Weſtern-Branch*, *Pagan-Creek*, and at *Samuel Savory*'s; we had a pretty comfortable Time at the laſt Place. Then to *Swan's-Point*, and over *James*'s *River* to *Williamſburgh*, and had a ſmall Meeting at each of theſe laſt Places: *Joſeph Jordan* being with me, we paid the Governor a Viſit, and interceded for his Favour, on the Behalf of ſome Friends put in Priſon on account of refuſing to Train; he was very kind, promiſing to do what lay in his Power for them, and our People in general, and in a little Time the Friends were ſet at Liberty.

We then went (*Joſeph* being with me) to *Skeminho* to the Widow *Bate*'s, it was a Yearly-meeting at the Widow's Houſe, which was pretty large and open. Thence to *Black-Creek* and to *Curl*'s, and had tolerable good Meetings. Then we had a Meeting of Miniſters and Elders; there were but a few Miniſters in thoſe Parts, but we had a ſuitable Opportunity to good Satisfaction; and indeed it not often fell out that in ſuch Meetings I was in want

want of Matter ſuitable to their States. Next Day was the Publick-meeting, which was large and well. Next Day I was at *Wain-Oak* (theſe were all called Yearly-meetings) which was large and well, and *Joſeph Jordan* had excellent Service in it, but I had very little to ſay. Thence to the *Swamp*, *Graſſy Swamp*, *Cedar-Creek*, and *Dover*, and had fine Meetings, People being very ready to attend them; theſe Meetings were above the Falls of *James's-River* Thence back over the River to *Robert Honycote's*, *Lemuel Hargrove's*, *Somerton*, and to *Nathan Newby's*; in all theſe Places I had Meetings, and ſome of them very large and open. From thence into *Carolina* to their Quarterly-meeting, and had a Meeting at *James Griffet's* Houſe. Thence to *Little-River* on the Seventh-day of the Week, and firſt of the Quarterly-meeting: Next Day the Meeting was very large, and I took my Leave of Friends therein, and we had a baptizing Time together. Then I returned back to *Virginia*, and was at *Nanſemund* Meeting, and had a large Meeting at a Friend's Houſe, whoſe Name was *Levin Buffkin*, it was a fine edifying Meeting indeed. Then I came to the *Branch*, and *Chuckatuck*, at their Monthly-meeting, but *Robert Jordan* had all the Time, that being his laſt Meeting, he being to come to *England*, to viſit Friends, in the ſame Ship with me. Another Meeting was appointed at *Arnold Wilkinſon's* which was ſmall. After Meeting I went to *Robert Jordan's*, having been made exceeding welcome, and alſo had ſeveral good Opportunities in the Family. I went to but two or three Meetings more,

more, getting myſelf ready to return Home, and accordingly we took Leave, and came down the River, to *Kickatan*, but were forced, in ſailing there, by miſſing the Channel, to lie aground by *Newport's-Noſe* near twenty-four Hours before we could get to *Hampton*, and when there, ſtaid about a Week and four Days, *George Walker* was very kind, invited us to lodge at his Houſe, which we did about four Nights, and had a Meeting or two in his Houſe, his Wife being more loving than I expected: She was *George Keith*'s Daughter, and in her younger Days ſhewed great Diſſatisfaction with Friends, but after her Father's Death the Edge of that Bitterneſs abated, and her Huſband was very loving and hearty to Friends, frequently having Meetings at his Houſe.

Having laid Wind-bound a Week and four Days, the Wind ſprung up fair for us, and we weighed Anchor the 29th of the *Fifth Month* 1728, with a freſh and fine Gale; *Robert Jordan* ſeemed much pleaſed that we were on our Way, and a ſecret Joy fill'd my Heart, being thankful that I had been preſerved ſo well in Health, and aſſiſted with Strength both of Body and Mind to accompliſh this long and tedious Journey, through the very ſevere Extreams of both Heat and Cold, in about eighteen Months, and miſſed but ſeven Meetings, which were far back in the Woods. *viz.* one in the Government of *New-York*, two in the *Jerſeys*, and four in *Pennſylvania*: I was not eaſy to miſs them, but my Friends thought the Weather and Seaſon of the Year, together with the great Scarcity

Scarcity of the Proviſion both for Man and Horſe, and the great and thick Snow, with the Extremity of the Froſt, render'd that Journey hazzardous, if not impracticable, and to ſtay till the Winter broke up, I could not ſee it my Place; beſides which, by ſtaying ſo long I ſhould have loſt my Paſſage by the homeward-bound Ships, otherways I ſhould have been willing to have taken thoſe Meetings, if I could have ſaved my Paſſage, and accompliſhed it ſo as I might waſte no Time, but go on diligently as I had done before, for there were but very few of their Meetings but that I viſited two, three, and ſundry of them four, five, or ſix Times, ſeveral of them being ſituated in my Way in paſſing to and fro. I was not by any Diſorder or Sickneſs, or any Accident hindered (I think I may ſafely ſay) one Hour all this Time. Indeed Friends had ſent Word to appoint a Meeting for me about thirty Miles on my Way, but the Weather was ſo extreamly tempeſtuous, that when we came there, no Meeting was appointed, ſo, it was concluded I could not poſſibly come, ſo I was under a Neceſſity to ſtay one Day longer in that Place, which was the greateſt Hindrance I met with in all the Journey that I remember.

Now to return: In our Voyage, about 250 Leagues from Land as we thought, the Water ſeemed like a River after a haſty Storm of Thunder; on ſeeing it thus, our People were under Surprize, and in that Surprize tried with the Lead for Ground, but could find none; it was ſo uncommon a Thing, that the Sailors could not tell what to think of it:

This

This was about the 15th of the *Sixth-Month*; we had fine pleasant Weather, and great Plenty of Dolphins and other Fish, for which Providence I was very thankful; but on the 22d of the same Month, about three in the Afternoon, an exceeding Gust of Wind, such an Hurricane as the Sailors said they never knew, came from the North, which bore so unexpectedly without any Warning upon us, that to all Appearance our Ship would be in a Moment swallowed up in the Sea, the Waves running over us, and the Water coming into the great Cabbin Windows and the Forecastle, so that from five or six Inches of Water in the Hold, it so increased, that we had more than so many Feet in a few Minutes; the Decks seemed as tho' they would break down; being so very heavy with the Waves breaking in upon them, they also staved us above a Ton and a Half of Water in Casks fasten'd upon Deck, washed some Hogs overboard, and drowned us several Dozen of Turkeys, Geese, and other Fowls, which afterwards, with the Water and Swine, were much miss'd by us; besides all this, the Wind tore our Sails like Paper, broke our Foretopmast, and several of the Yards, like rotten Sticks, and the round Foretop; the Ship by the Violence of the Tempest lying so much on one Side, as though she would not right up again, so that they were for cutting away her Masts and Rigging, but I begged the Master not to do it, but to trust to Providence, for I was satisfied she would rise again as soon as the Wind abated: And the Wind began to abate in a little Time, and the

Ship

Ship righted up, but the Tiller of the Rudder being broke, it was very dangerous, until they had got the Rudder faſtened, which in a little Time before it was dark, was effected with great Difficulty and Danger; but the Sea running ſo very high, toſt the Ship very much, and the Sea came in with that Violence, that there was no Appearance of any Thing but foundering and ſinking immediately, for ſome Time, eſpecially till the Rudder was put to rights; but when they had the Command of the Rudder there were ſome Hopes of Relief, but while the Rudder was at Liberty there was no commanding of the Veſſel, but ſhe lay at the Mercy of the Sea, and it ſeemed as though that would alone carry away the Stern of the Veſſel, by being forced through the Violence of the Waves from one Side to the other: But when we had got up the dead Lights, and ſecured ourſelves in the beſt Manner we could, then all Hands to pump, for we found between ſeven and eight Feet of Water in the Hold, but as the toſſing of the Ship made that very difficult to gueſs right, it might be more or leſs; however, having a good Ship, new and firm, we found Hope increaſed, but we were all very wet, and very much fatigued, and a dark and troubleſome Night it was, and we much longed for Day, but the Wind was very much abated, not laſting above two Hours ſo very ſtrong: And when Day-light came we were glad, but that was ſoon turned into Mourning, by diſcovering the mean State of our Ship, eſpecially the Rigging and Sails, and finding ſo great

great a Loſs of Water and freſh Proviſion, Things of Value, next to Life itſelf: All theſe Loſſes put together were Cauſe of Trouble, but by grieving we could not help ourſelves, therefore we could with the Pſalmiſt, in ſomething of the like Nature, ſay, ſuch Trials put People to *their Wits End*; * howbeit, in turning the Mind to that divine Power and Providence which is preſent every where, ruling both by Sea and Land, and whom the Winds obey, I found Comfort in meditating on his Promiſes to care for thoſe who put their Truſt in him.

Now our Men, who were all preſerved from any other Damage, ſaving the taking of Cold, which we all felt the Effect of to a great Degree, went about putting the Rigging to rights again, which took up a full Week before we could make Sail, the Wind blowing ſtrong and variable; and when they had got Things in a good Condition the Wind was againſt us for ſeveral Days, which made us thoughtful to take Care of what Water and Proviſion we had, that we might not be ſurprized with Want, when we had no Power to arm againſt it. The Men were all call'd up to hear a Propoſal, which was thus; Three Pints of Water a Man for twenty-four Hours, and five Pounds of Bread for a Man a Week, having other Proviſions, both freſh and ſalt, a good handſome Stock, to the full Allowance. At this there was Uneaſineſs; but this Allowance would hold by our Calculation but for about four Weeks, ſo that if

* Pſalm cvii. 27.

if we ſaw not ſome Hopes of getting in, in two Weeks, we muſt come to leſs Allowance again.

The Wind continued ſtill againſt us till the 7th of the *Seventh-Month*, and then veered a little to the Southward, and we apprehending ourſelves to be too much to the North, were not willing if we could avoid it, to put into *Ireland*: But in about three Days after this we had a brave Wind, which laſted for ſome Days, and it gave us Hopes of ſeeing Land, which we much longed for, being threatned with Want of Proviſion, of both Bread and Water, but not Fleſh, if Providence did not interpoſe: Our Hearts were chearful, and Gladneſs appeared in every Countenance, but alas! it was but a ſhort-liv'd Joy, for in the Forenoon on the 13th the Wind ſcanted upon us again, and about five in the Afternoon we ſounded, trying for Ground, but found none; this made us all look pale, and Sadneſs of Heart appeared in every Countenance; beſides, our Ship being a dull Sailer, added ſomewhat to our Trouble, fearing that we were farther from Land than we thought by our Reckoning, and the greateſt Comfort we had, was a good Ship under us, though a heavy Sailer, therefore we cheered each other with the Hope of gaining our Port in due Time with Safety and Comfort: And this I moralized to myſelf, by conſidering the Reſemblance of a *Chriſtian*'s Progreſs through this Life, ſometimes in a Degree of Proſperity, being under Encouragement to preſs forward with a fair Wind, and anon

under

under as great Adverſity and Diſcouragement by Temptations, Perſecutions and Afflictions.

In two Days more we ſounded, and found Ground at eighty-two Fathom, judging ourſelves from the *Lizard* ſixty Leagues; but alas! the Wind veered and blew ſeven Days ſtrong againſt us, ſo that we were driven from Land, as we thought, a Hundred Leagues. This made us talk of ſhortening our Allowance again, but that Night about twelve o'Clock the Wind veered in our Favour, and the Sailors cried, *A large Wind, a large Allowance*; Nothing being more diſagreeable in its kind than a large Wind and ſhort Allowance. And the Wind being fair, we went on with Cheerfulneſs, and upon the Credit of this fair Wind ſome of the Men had not a Morſel of Bread left by Night, nor a Spoonful of Water, and had near thirty-ſix Hours of their Week to come: However, we went along ſo agreeably, that every Body look'd pleaſant, and it was comely to behold; but alas! this laſted but about ſixteen Hours before it came right in our Teeth again, and blew very ſtrong. Such Ups and Downs we had, that the Sailors grew very uneaſy, and did curſe and ſwear, nay did not ſtick to blaſpheme in ſuch a Way, as made it very uneaſy, and unpleaſant to hear; but this did not laſt long before it was calm, and the Wind came up fair again, and we ſpeaking with a Ship outward bound, they gave us new Heart, by adviſing us that *Scilly* bore from us North-Eaſt about twenty-two Leagues Diſtance. Alſo this Day we ſpoke with the King's Ship call'd the

Dragon

Dragon, come from *Jamaica*, and in the Evening saw sundry Ships coming in; this made it look very pleasant, besides a fine Gale in our Favour, so that on the 27th we saw the Land about five in the Evening, and a Ship to Windward bore down to us, and told us it was the *Lizard*, and we judged that it bore E. N. E. from us about six Leagues Distance. Next Day the Wind was against us, turning in the Night E. N. E. so that we lost Sight of the Land again, but tacking and standing the other Way we soon saw it, and having the Tide under Foot, though but a scant Wind, we shot in a considerable Way, yet after the Tide was spent we thought we lost Ground, but the Wind veering to our Advantage, and a better Gale, did help us much, so that on the 28th we shot pretty near in, thinking to have put into *Falmouth*, but the Wind being still more favourable, we stood for the * *Ramhead*; then it grew almost calm, so that what we got by the Flood we lost by the Ebb, and we could but just discern the *Eddistone* like the Mast of a Ship through a Glass, and scarcely at all with the naked Eye; but on the 29th, it being the First-day of the Week, having a fine Tide and good Wind all in our Favour, gave us some Hopes to get into *Plymouth* by Meeting Time, the very Thought of which was agreeable: But alas! by eight in the Morning we found, to our Sorrow, the Tide against us, and the Wind dying away, we lost Ground, but shortly after the Wind blew pretty strong

* A Point of Land so call'd.

ſtrong and fair; then we found we ſtem'd the Tide and got a little forward, and when the Ebb was ſpent, the Flood with the Wind came in very ſtrong, though a Neap-tide, ſo that we raiſed the Land very faſt, and about two in the Afternoon came a-breaſt the *Eddiſtone*, about a Muſket-ſhot from it, and had a full View thereof, going along with Pleaſure. In about a Quarter of an Hour after this, Pilots came off, ſeveral Ships wanting ſafe Conduct, and about nine we got ſafe to an Anchor, juſt by the Paſſage againſt *Edgcombe* Houſe, and on the 30th I landed at *Plymouth*, and ſtaid in Town that Day, and was very thankful I was ſafe on Shore again, having been juſt nine Weeks on our Paſſage, and the laſt five of it was a very trying and afflicting Time, but the four firſt were very pleaſant and comfortable.

Being now on Shore amongſt my Friends, I took Horſe the 1ſt of the *Eighth-Month*, and came to *Exeter* that Night. Next Morning, being the 2d of the Month and fourth Day of the Week, I came Home, and as I entered my own Houſe, oh! the inward Comfort and Pleaſure which I felt, raviſh'd my Heart, that I could ſcarce forbear to cry out, *God! that God who judgeth Men, is juſt in all his Ways, and rewardeth Peace into the Boſoms of thoſe who fear and obey him.* And being by all my Family and Friends kindly receiv'd, made my Return exceedingly delightful.

In about twenty-two Months and odd Days I finiſhed this Journey, from the 22d of the *Tenth-Month* 1726, to the 2d of the *Eighth-Month*

1728, and in that Time I travelled by Land and over Rivers about five Thousand three Hundred and twenty-two Miles, besides passing and repassing the great Ocean; and as I had been out of that Country somewhat more than twenty-one Years, and found so great an Increase of the Professors of Truth, I had a Curiosity to examine a little into it, finding most of the old Meeting-houses very much enlarged, some to hold double, and some treble, and some four Times the People that the old ones would in my first going thither, and even now some wanted to be either enlarged, or new ones built at proper Distances; besides the Account of new Houses built in that Time, in Places where were none, nor Meetings but what were kept in private Houses, which grew so numerous, that Necessity put them upon erecting Houses to accommodate themselves. In *New-England* and *Rhode-Island* are twelve: In the Government of *New-York* are six: In both *East* and *West-Jersey* are nine: In *Pennsylvania* thirteen: In *Maryland* four: In *Virginia* nine; and in *North-Carolina* three. In all, there have been fifty-six new Meeting-houses built within these two or three-and-twenty Years past, and in these Provinces there are about ten Places more that want where they have none, and many old ones want to be enlarged, not having Room for Half the People. Now the extraordinary Increase of Professors is much to be attributed to the Youth retaining the Profession of their Parents, and marrying such: For chief part of the People in *Pennsylvania* are of this Profession, as well as in the *Jerseys*,

Jerseys, and *Rhode-Island*, so that young People are not under the Temptation to marry such as are of different Judgments in Religion, as in some Parts.

Now being safe returned Home, I was diligent in my Way, minding my Business, and attended public Meetings, Funerals, *&c.* until the Year 1740, at which Time I found a concern to visit some Parts of the *North*, and *Ireland*, which comes next in course, with respect to both Time and Place, *viz.*

An ACCOUNT *of my* TRAVELS *into the* North *of* England, *and* Ireland, *the second Time, in the Year* 1740.

AFTER having acquainted my Friends with what I had in View, requesting, as is usual in the like Cases, a Certificate from the Monthly-meeting, which was readily granted, I left my House the 1st of the *Third-Month* 1740, and went to the Funeral of an intimate Friend, *viz. Thomas Carey* of *Long-Sutton*, the Meeting was very large and well. Thence I went to *Street*, and so for *Bristo* to the Yearly-meeting, which was attended by many Friends, and was very much to Satisfaction; I was largely opened both in the public and select Meetings of Ministers and Elders. Leaving that Place I went to *Bath*, *Bradford*, *Milksham*, *Chippenham*, and *Caln* in *Wiltshire*, and had in all these Places Meetings to good Satisfaction, in some more than others. Thence to *Newbury*, *Reading*, *Wickham*, and *Uxbridge*, and had Meetings at all these Places, which were pretty well. Thence to *London* to the

Yearly-meeting, where I was more particularly enlarged amongſt the Miniſters than ever I had been before in *England*, which gave me ſome Apprehenſion it was to be my laſt, and when I was taken ſick, of which in its Place, it ſeemed to confirm it. I had likewiſe a very good Time in the Parting-meeting, which confirmed me that I was in my Place. From thence I went to *Hertford*, it was their Monthly-meeting, and I ſtaid three Meetings in that Town. Thence to *Ware* and *Royſton*, and had conſiderable Meetings in both Places. Then into *Eſſex*, to *Saffron-Walden*, *Thackſtead* and *Coggeſhall*, and had tolerable good Times; ſo to *Colcheſter* Yearly-meeting, which was very large, and I had the Company of *John Gurney*, and *Joſhua Toft*, who both had very eminent Service in that Meeting.

I was taken ill with a Cold, but had ſo good a Time amongſt the Miniſters, that I thought myſelf almoſt cured; but after Meeting riding to *Bury*, it brought ſuch a *Fever* upon me, that I thought I could not ſurvive it, and this ſeemed to confirm my former Apprehenſion, from that uncommon Enlargement I had amongſt the Miniſters in *London*, that I ſhould never have another, and this Notion grew upon me, adding much to my Lowneſs of Spirits; however, I was obliged to tarry a Week with my Friend *John Drewett*, at *Bury*, and his Kindneſs and Tenderneſs over me in that low, weak Condition, was very great and comfortable; he conveyed me to *Mildenhall* in his Chair, but I was very weak, and obliged to ſtay at *Joſeph Ellington*'s one Week longer, who was likewiſe very kind and tender over me.

From

From thence I went to *Brand*, and through ſome Part of *Norfolk* into *Lincolnſhire*, and had very large Meetings at *Lynn*, and at *Gainſborough* a great Number at a Funeral, and Meetings at ſeveral other Places, which were large. I met my dear Friend *Joſhua Toft* at *Lynn*, and he was with me at *Gedney*, and other Meetings between that and *Gainſborough*, and then we parted, and I went into *Yorkſhire*, and had ſundry large Meetings, conſidering the Places, as at *Leeds*, *Rawden*, *Bradford*, *Skipton*, *Settle*, and *Sedbergh*; (at which laſt Place my Mouth was firſt opened in the Miniſtry) and on *Firſt-day* to *Kendal*, and had two large Meetings, and then went directly for *Whitehaven* by *Cockermouth*, but had no Meeting till I came to *Dublin*, ſtaying in *Whitehaven* but about two Hours.

I took Shipping the 1ſt of the *Sixth-Month* 1740, and landed ſafe at *Dublin* the 4th. I ſtaid there two *Firſt-days*, being under ſome Diſorder, and from thence I went to *Drogheda* and *Monallen*, where I was very particular about the Call and Qualifications of true Goſpel Miniſters, ſhewing, that wicked Men could not be ſuch; and thence to *Lurgan*, and had ſatisfactory Opportunities, *Michael Lightfoot* being there at the ſame Time. From thence to one Meeting between that and *Liſburne*, and ſo I went to the North as far as *Ballyarrey*, and then returned back to *Toberhead*, *Old Caſtle*, *Coothill*, viſiting Meetings on that Side to *Limerick* and ſo to *Clonmell*, *Youghall*, and to *Cork*, to the Province Meeting, and back by *Waterford* to a Province Quarterly-meeting at *Mountmellick*, viſiting Meetings round as I went to *Montrath*, *Edenderry*, and ſo to *Dublin* to a Marriage,

where for ſome Time I had very hard Work, but it ended very well: From thence I went into the County of *Wicklow*, and round by *Carlow*, viſiting the Meetings round to the national Half-yearly-meeting at *Dublin*, about the 11th of the *Ninth-Month*.

I found in that Nation a brave, zealous and living People in the Root of true Religion and Diſcipline, or Church Government, well qualified with Experience in divine Wiſdom; but there were alſo ſome who ſeemed very perfect in the *Form*, and appeared to the outward very exact and zealous againſt Pride and worldly Cuſtoms, but for all that, the *Inſide was not right*, ſo that I found often very cloſe Exerciſe amongſt them, in warning them againſt the *Leaven of the* Phariſees, which was equally, if not more hurtful to Religion than that of the *Publicans*: And in ſome Places ſhewing, that it was needful to be good Examples in Plainneſs of Speech, as well as Apparel, which many had deviated from; but nevertheleſs ſuch there were, who tho' plain, and otherwiſe ſtrict, were too much taken up with the *World*, and the *Riches* of it, making Haſte to increaſe their Subſtance, which was a very great Hindrance to their Growth in the Life of Religion, and made them dwarfiſh therein; ſetting forth, that a *Form*, without *Life*, whether by Education or otherwiſe, would not avail; alſo warning the Miniſters in the Exerciſe of their Gifts, to keep to *the Spirit*, and mind carefully *their Openings*, and not to preach *the Letter*, under a Pretence of Preaching *the Spirit*, and ſo inſtead of miniſtering *Life*, miniſter *Death* to the People. In the main, I had great Comfort, and many very good Opportunities.

I

I left that Nation full of Peace in my own Mind, being glad that I went thither: I was at eighty-two or eighty-three Meetings in it, and took ſhipping the 19th of the *Ninth-Month* 1740, in Company with my dear Friend *Michael Lightfoot*, for *Workington*, and was but twenty-four Hours on the Water; it was a rough though very quick Paſſage: My Friend was very ſick, and ſo was I alſo, but not to that Degree as he was. We hired Horſes to go to *Whitehaven*, it being about ſix or ſeven Miles, and ſtaid there till next Day, it being *Firſt-day*, and had two Meetings, the laſt being very large. I viſited all the Meetings in and about *Cockermouth*, and *Pardſay*, many of which were very large, and then by *Keſwick* to *Hawkſhead*, where I was much comforted, being at Friend *Lancaſter*'s Houſe at *Colthouſe*, and had two Meetings there, which were very full.

Thence I went to *Kendal*, had no Meeting, but next Morning went to *Sedbergh* to the General-meeting, which was ſmall by reaſon of a deep Snow and very hard Weather. Thence to *Preſton-Patrick*, and back to *Kendal*, but had no Meeting. Thence to *Crook*, and had a ſmall Meeting, then back to *Kendal* to their Week-day Meeting, where was a Funeral. Thence I went to *Shap*, but it was very bad travelling by reaſon of the Snow and Froſt. Thence to *Cumberland* Quarterly-meeting, by *Carliſle* and *Moorhouſe* to *Wigton*, where it was held; and conſidering the Seaſon, it was very large, holding two Days: At a Meeting of Miniſters and Elders held in the Evening, I was pretty much enlarged, as well as at the other Meetings. I returned back

to

to *Penrith*, being accompanied by my Friend *Rowland Wilſon* this Journey, who was of great Service to me, and my Friend *John Wilſon* and his intended Son-in-Law met me at *Penrith*, where we had a very large Evening-meeting, to very good Satisfaction; the Diſſenting Teacher, with many of his Hearers were there, and it was very well. Thence to *Teril*, and to the Monthly-meeting, at *Great-Strickland*, and ſo by *Shap* to *Kendal*, where I was at three Meetings beſides the Quarterly-meeting, and the Meeting of Miniſters, all very large and Satisfactory; and the Weather was much warmer. I took my Friend *John Wilſon*'s Houſe for Home at *Kendal*, and *James Wilſon*'s at *Sedbergh*, ſtaid their *Firſt-day* Meeting, and had an exceeding large Meeting in the Evening. That Meeting, with *Cockermouth* and *Whitehaven*, were three of the largeſt Meetings I had in the North that Journey. Thence to my old Friend *Robert Chambers*, and to *Preſton* General-meeting, and dear *James Wilſon* and his Wife met me there, it was a pretty large Meeting, but I was much ſhut up in it; and after Meeting *James* and *John Wilſon*, with *Robert Chambers*, and ſundry others accompanied me to the Quarterly-meeting at *Lancaſter*, which began next Day, and was very large. Theſe Quarterly-meetings of *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland* and *Lancaſhire*, were three of the largeſt that I remember to have been at, one after the other, in ſo ſhort a Time, and they had an excellent Oeconomy in the Management of their Affairs; but there was no Meeting of Miniſters at *Lancaſter*, at this Time. It may be ſaid, I think very juſtly, that theſe three

three Counties are in a thriving Way in the very Life of Religion and true Godlineſs.

Having receiv'd a Line from my dear Wife, that ſhe was weakly, and wanted me to return, prevented my viſiting the North as I had in View, ſo that from *Lancaſter* I had no Meeting till I came to *Manchester* where I had two good Meetings. Thence to *Stockport*, *Macclesfield* and *Leek*, and had ſmall Meetings at each Place. Thence to *Birmingham* and had two Meetings, the laſt a Funeral, pretty large, but not ſo edifying as I could have deſired it. Thence to *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, and *Briſtol*, and had Meetings at them all to very good Satisfaction, eſpecially at *Worceſter*, and *Briſtol*.

In this Journey I travelled in *Ireland* (excluſive of the Sea) ſix Hundred and ſeventy-eight Miles, and in *England*, before and after my Return from *Ireland*, nine Hundred and Thirty, which in all is ſixteen Hundred and eight Miles, and ſave my Illneſs at *Bury*, had my Health as well as I could expect, being humbly thankful, that I was ſo ſtrengthned both inwardly and outwardly to accompliſh my Journey ſo well, not having, that I remember, left any Thing undone in that Nation, ſave ſomething I had to ſay in the Mens Meeting at *Dublin*, but their haſty breaking up prevented it, which gave me Uneaſineſs for ſome Weeks after, and I remark it here for a Caution to others; for I miſt ſuch an Opportunity as I could never more expect to have, and this added to my uneaſineſs. Thus I ſaw that my Fear of breaking in upon the Meeting, and hindering their Buſineſs, made me loſe my Time, ſo that I came off with a Burden upon my Mind. *An*

An ACCOUNT *of my* TRAVELS *ſince the Deceaſe of my Wife, who after a lingering Illneſs departed this Life the 6th of the* Third-Month 1746.

I Set out from my Houſe the 27th of the *Fourth-Month* 1746, towards the Quarterly-meeting at *Liſkard* in *Cornwall*, which in that County and *Devonſhire*, are uſually call'd Yearly-meetings, and had two ſmall Meetings in the Way, *viz.* at *Collumpton* and *Oak-hampton*; thence to *Launceſton*, where we had a very large Meeting, the Place conſider'd, the People being very ſober and attentive, and the Doctrine of the Goſpel flowed freely to them; I was much comforted with that Meeting: Thence to *Liſkard* to the Quarterly-meeting, which by reaſon of the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Weather, was ſmaller than uſual, there being few beſides Friends, but Things were tolerably well, and from thence to *Plymouth*: Friends of both Counties attend theſe two Meetings. After which I had a Meeting in the Evening at a Pariſh, where I think but one Family of Friends dwelt, we had a tolerable good Meeting, many People came to it; thence to *Kingſbridge*, and ſo for *Exeter* and was at their Week-day Meeting, but had Nothing to ſay; ſo by *Collumpton* to *Chard*, and then Home, where I ſtaid until it was Time to ſet out for the Yearly-meeting in *Glouceſterſhire*, held at *Hampton-Road*, which being well ſupplied by ſundry able Miniſters attending, it was thought to be of good Service.

I returned by *Bath*, *Froome* and *Shipton-Mallet*, had three Meetings at *Bath*, one at *Froome*, and one at *Shipton*, all to very good Satisfaction, and then Home, where I ſtaid ſome Time; but finding the Conſtraint of Love to viſit *London*, I waited to be clearly ſatisfied in the Undertaking, and was not eaſy to go till the 20th of the *Eleventh-Month*.

I went by *Briſtol*, and the Meetings were very large, I ſtaid two *Firſt-days*, and had very good Satisfaction in being there; then I went for *London* through *Wiltſhire*, and had a tolerable ſatisfactory Opportunity in the Evening at *Chippenham*, where ſundry Strangers came in; next to *Caln*, and had a Meeting there alſo, but not quite ſo ſatisfactory; thence to *Marlborough*, and had a very open Time, many Neighbours came who were very ſober and attentive; thence to *Newbury*, and had a ſmall Meeting; thence to *Reading*, and was there on *Firſt-day* both Morning and Afternoon, and had good Satisfaction; thence to *Maiden-head*, where ſundry Friends from *London* met me; from thence I went to a Meeting at *Uxbridge* appointed for *Hannah Harris*; from thence to *London*, and was in Town four Weeks. In five *Firſt-days* I viſited all the Meetings, and ſome of them ſundry Times over, and had ſometimes great Satisfaction and Comfort, but at other Times I was very low and under great Poverty of Spirit; the *Firſt-days* were hard Service: The Evening Meetings at *Grace-church-ſtreet* were very open, and the Goſpel flowed to them very plentifully, at which Meetings vaſt Variety of Hearers frequented, of different States and Profeſſions, but the Fountain

tain being opened, there was a Supply ſuitable to their Conditions.

After I was clear of the City, ſundry Friends accompanied me to *Eſher*, where we had a ſmall but pretty open Meeting; thence to *Guildford*, where we had a very ſmall and poor Meeting. I queried, why they did not give their Neighbours Notice? To which they anſwered, *they did not uſe to do it.* There is a very great Remiſneſs amongſt our People in this Reſpect, for if they were diligent, and deſirous to have the Company of their Neighbours, where the Miniſter is ſo concerned, it might be of great Service to them. I went from thence to *Godalmin*, where we had a very large open Meeting; thence to *Alton*, and had two very agreeable Meetings; ſo to *Wincheſter*, where were but a few Friends; then to *Rumſey*, and had a ſmall Meeting; ſo to *Ringwood* Week-day Meeting, which was ſmall but pretty well; thence to *Pool*, and had a Meeting or two there, and then Home; being very glad that I ſucceeded ſo well, both as to Health and Ability of mind, getting Home about the middle of the *Second-Month*, 1747.

I now viſited the Meetings in the Neighbourhood, until the 9th of the *Third-Month* 1747, and on that Day took my Journey towards *Briſtol* Yearly-meeting, and I had but one Meeting between Home and *Briſtol*; the Meeting there was very large and well. From thence to the Quarterly-meeting for *Glouceſterſhire*, it was held at *Thornbury*, and I had a very ſatisfactory Time there: Thence I went to *Nailſworth*, was taken much out of Order in the Night, but went to Meeting, although not very fit for it; my

dear

dear Friend *Richard Champion* came there, and I went with him to his Houſe, which made me think, by the Reſpect and Kindneſs he ſhewed, that he was an excellent ſympathizing Friend in Affliction, for he ſoon, for my Encouragement ſaid, *he would go to* Worceſter *with me*, for the Meetings were appointed ſo far; and my worthy Friend went with me thither.

I was bravely recover'd by the Time I got to *Worceſter*, having only *Cheltenham* and *Tewkſbury* Meetings between that and *Nailſworth*. I was at *Worceſter* on *Firſt-day* at three Meetings, and had good Satisfaction and Peace in them. I went thence to *Bromſgrove*, and had a ſmall Meeting comfortable and well; thence to *Birmingham*, where I ſtaid the *Seventh-day*, and went to *Coventry* on *Firſt-day*, and was at two Meetings there, which were both open and well, but the latter more ſo than the firſt: From thence to *Hinkley*, *Leiceſter*, *Caſtle-dunnington*, and to *Nottingham* on *Firſt-day*, where I was at their two Meetings, but few beſides our own Profeſſors were there; the Meetings were tolerable well: I had not very agreeable Service, to my own Apprehenſion, in ſome of the above Meetings, though ſome Friends thought my Doctrine ſuitable to their States, and that is the chief End which we ought to aim at. From thence I went to *Mansfield*, and had a very full Meeting at a Funeral, with which I had great Comfort and Peace: Thence to *Cheſterfield*, *Sheffield*, and *Warnſworth*, and had tolerable good Opportunities; thence to *Rawcliff*, and to *York* Quarterly-meeting, where I had good Service.

From

From *York* I went into *Holderneſs*, by *Thorn*, *Ithethey*, *Malton*, *Cranſwick*, and *Beverley*, where was a Monthly-meeting, which was, I hope, ſerviceable, being a large Gathering of both Friends and other People of different Perſwaſions; thence to *Hull*, *Welick*, *Ouſtwick*, *Hornſey*, and *Burlington*: *Ouſtwick* was a very large Meeting, the others but ſmall; but not to complain of; thence to *Scarborough*, where I ſtaid a full Week, and was at two *Firſt-day* Meetings, which were both large and comfortable; I had ſeven Meetings in that Place to good Satisfaction; then I had a ſmall Meeting at *Stanton-dale*, and ſo to *Whithy*, and had three Meetings there, but they were laborious, being pretty hard to get through; thence to *Moorſam*, and at *Caſtleton* had a ſmall Meeting; it being Harveſt-time many Friends could not attend. From thence to *Kirby-Moorſide*, and lodged with my dear and worthy Friend *John Richardſon* at *Hutton in the Hole*, and was at a very large Meeting at *Pickering*, called a Yearly-meeting, but it did not anſwer Expectation, many of the People, who were not Friends, coming to it as to a Revel, and would afterwards get drunk before they went Home, which gave Friends much Uneaſineſs, and Room to conſider, whether beſt to continue it or not.

I returned to my old worthy Friend *John Richardſon*, whoſe Converſation and Company was very agreeable and profitable; thence to *Kirby*, and had a very comfortable Meeting; ſo to *Bilſdale*, *Yeaton*, *Stockton* and *Yarm*, had ſmall Meetings, but pretty open and edifying. At *Yarm*, my Friend *Thomas Couldwell* of *Darlington*, and my worthy Friend

James

James Wilson and his dear Wife, met me; *Thomas Couldwell* was their Son-in-Law, and had a few Words in Meetings to good Satisfaction; he was an innocent reputable Man, both in Miniſtry and Conduct.

James went with me through the County of *Durham*, where we viſited moſt of the Meetings to *Newcaſtle*; from thence we went into *Allendale*, and had a pretty large Gathering of Friends; the Monthly-meeting being there, and their Buſineſs was well conducted, and the Affairs carried on to Edification and Comfort. From thence to *Alſtone-Moore*, had a pretty large Meeting, and a comfortable Opportunity, it being Monthly-meeting alſo: From thence to *Cornwood*, which was pretty full, and I had an agreeable Time. There being here ſome Convincement, I was opened to ſhew the Difference between a *true* and *falſe Miniſtry*, demonſtrating the Qualifications of each, that they might judge, whether a *ſpiritual* Qualification, which ſanctifies and purifies the Conſcience, fitting it for the receiving the Knowledge of the divine Will, by Inſpiration of the holy Spirit; or a *human* Qualification by Literature and Books, with what they call *Ordination*, too often without the Sanctification of the Heart by the Word of Truth, was moſt likely to advance the Work of true Religion.

From this Place we went into *Cumberland*; but after the firſt Meeting *James Wilſon* went Home to look after his Affairs, it being Harveſt-time; but I viſited *Cumberland* pretty thoroughly, and was at *Moorhouſe* Meeting, and ſo to *Coldbeck*, but was taken ſo ill there, that I could not attend that Meeting;

ing; from thence I went to *Ithil* and *Cokermouth*, *Paraſay* and *Whitehaven*, but I was very weak and low in my Spirit, which rendered me very unfit for Service. I was at *Workington* on *Firſt-day*, and had a very large and open Meeting, ſo that I was finely recruited, and gathered Strength both inwardly and outwardly: From thence I went to *Broughton*, *Allonby*, and to *Holm*, where was a troubleſome Woman, in whom the Spirit which influenced the *Pearſons* was very ſtrong, ſhe gave ſome Diſturbance, eſpecially to *John Urwin*, but no Body ſaid any Thing to her; and after I had ſpoke ſome Time, and concluded, ſhe ſtood up and expreſſed ſomething to this Effect, *Here is a great many fine Words put well together, but where is the Life?* And in Meetings ſhe would often caſt forth Reproaches and Reflections on Miniſters, both of the ſame County and alſo Strangers. From *Holm* we went round to *Wigton*, and I ſtaid there over *Firſt-day*, but *John Urwin* left me, I had two very edifying Meetings; and from thence I went to *Moorhouſe*, and had a tolerable good Meeting, and ſo to the Quarterly-meeting at *Carliſle*, which was very large, and I had good Satisfaction both in the Meetings of Buſineſs, and the Meetings of Miniſters, to my great Comfort; and theſe Meetings very much reſtored me, for I had been very low and weak with the Diſorder I took at *Coldbeck*, but my Friend *John Urwin* was of ſingular good Service to me.

In the Viſit from *Carliſle* to *Penrith*, I went with my Friend *John Wilſon* and his Brother *Crewdſon*, who were ſo kind as to meet me at *Carliſle*, and we had a very

very large, good, open Meeting, and I doubt not, the Power of Truth was eminently felt that Day by ſome. From thence I went to *Great-Strickland* Monthly-meeting for Diſcipline, and to *Shap*, and had ſome Service, although I was dejected and low; and always when I was in that Condition, I endeavoured in ſecret to be ſtill, waiting in Patience, with fervent Prayer that I might be preſerved in the Simplicity of the Goſpel, to appear juſt as the Truth aſſiſted, carefully guarding againſt forming any Image or Likeneſs from a wrong Root, leſt I ſhould offend my Maſter, as *Iſrael* did in *Moſes*'s Abſence, by forming to themſelves that dumb lifeleſs Idol the *Calf*, to worſhip after the manner of the *Egyptians*.

From *Shap* I went to *Kendal*, the Quarterly-meeting for *Weſtmoreland* being there, it was very large, and I was much opened in it, having very ſatisfactory Service both to myſelf and ſundry Friends: From thence I went to *Lancaſter* to the Quarterly-meeting for that County, and had there very agreeable Service. Theſe three Quarterly-meetings ſucceeded one another, *viz. Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and *Lancaſhire*, and are the largeſt of any I know of in this Nation, and falling ſo in a Line, gave me the better Opportunity to attend them; I ſtaid at *Lancaſter* over *Firſt-day*, and had ſome Service there, where were two Meetings, and both pretty large. From *Lancaſter* I went to *Yelland*, and had a ſmall hard Meeting, my Friend *Robert Chambers* and Wife met me here, and I went Home with them, and ſo to *Preſtaign* Meeting next Day; it was but ſmall and heavy, my Friend *Sarah Wilſon*, *James*'s Wife, and ſome

other Friends from that Side, met me there, with whom I went to *Brigflats* Meeting, it was a fine Gathering, and a comfortable Time. Thence to *Dent*'s Town, where was a General-meeting, which was pretty large and well: Thence to *Garſdale*, and *Ravenſtonedale*, and had two ſmall Meetings which were edifying, altho' not without ſome Mixture of Uneaſineſs and Trouble, chiefly occaſioned by Unfaithfulneſs and Indolence prevailing on ſundry Profeſſors, from whom one might expect much better by their Appearances, and the Places they aimed to fill in the Church: Thence to *Brigflats* Meeting on *Firſt-day*; and their Monthly-meeting for Diſcipline being on the fourth Day following, I ſtaid there, and all was conducted to Edification and Comfort; thence to *Grayrig*, a ſmall Meeting; ſo to *Crook*, where ſome Friends from *Windermoore* met me; it was but a ſmall Meeting, and we had but a low, poor Time. I came back to *Kendal*, and was at the *Firſt-day* Meetings, that in the Afternoon was large, and I opened pretty clearly the Difference betwixt a *natural*, and a *ſpiritual State*, ſhewing the Neceſſity of the laſt, in order to qualify for the Knowledge of divine Things, as that Knowledge is not to be attained to by the natural Man; we had an edifying and good Time. *James Wilſon*'s was my Home while at *Brigflats*, and *John Wilſon*'s at *Kendal*, during my Stay there.

I went from *Kendal* to *Bentham*, and had a conſiderable large Meeting to Satisfaction; thence to *Settle*, and was at their Monthly-meeting for Diſcipline; thence to *Skipton*, and had a ſmall Meeting there; and ſo to *Bradford*, where I was on *Firſt-day*, and

had

had pretty good Satisfaction; this Week gave me a good Degree of Eaſe and Chearfulneſs of Mind: Thence to *Rawdon*, *Leeds*, *Gilderſham*, and to *Bradford* Monthly-meeting, which was very ſmall, chiefly occaſioned by the Inclemency of the Weather, it being very heavy Rains and a great Flood; and I returned to *Leeds*, and ſo back to *Rawdon*, and to the Monthly-meeting at *Aſquith*, where I met with dear *Benjamin Kidd*; the Meeting was pretty large, and I think to good Purpoſe. I returned to *Leeds* on *Firſt-day*, it being my laſt and farewel Meeting; the Widow *Hornor*'s Houſe was my Home, and in it I had great Peace of Mind and Conſolation, though ſhe was at that Time under a very trying Exerciſe, which gave her ſome uneaſy Thoughts; but conſidering the great and cloſe Trials ſhe had undergone, ſhe bore it with great Decency and Patience, plainly demonſtrating, that ſhe was highly favoured of Truth, and always dwelling near it, to the Comfort of her Family, and all ſenſible Friends who had the Opportunity of her deſirable and edifying Converſation.

I left *Leeds*, and went to *Wakefield* to a Funeral, on which Account the Meeting was ſomewhat larger, tho' it was a very ſtormy Day, and much Snow fell at that Time; *John Scott* was with me, and we had a tolerable good Opportunity: Thence I went to *Pontefract*, and had a ſmall Meeting; it was a deep Snow, and very hard Froſt, which made it very bad Travelling; thence to *Warnſworth* to their Monthly-meeting, where *Roger Shackelton* met me, and ſtaid with me till after *Firſt-day*, *John Scott* being

ing ſtill with me, but *Roger* then returned Home; we went from thence to *Blyth* in *Nottinghamſhire*, to the Funeral of a worthy Elder and Miniſter, and had a very large Company, who were orderly and ſober in their Behaviour; thence to *Hanſworth-Woodhouſe*, and had a ſmall Meeting; thence to *Sheffield*, and had two large Meetings there to pretty good Satisfaction: I ſtop'd one Night at my Friend *Peter Aclam*'s, at *Cutthorp*, and then I went to *Cheſterfield*, and had a ſmall Meeting there, and ſo to *Mansfield*, and had another ſmall one; thence to *Nottingham* Week-day Meeting, and ſo to *Leiceſter* on *Firſt-day*, here *John Scatt* left me. The Morning-meeting was but ſmall, but that in the Afternoon was much larger, and both were to pretty good Satisfaction. I was at two or three ſmall Meetings in the County; and then I came back to the Quarterly-meeting at *Leiceſter* where I had a ſatisfactory Time before the Buſineſs came on, which was conducted with Prudence and Love.

From *Leiceſter* I went to a general Monthly-meeting, in a Pariſh called *Wigſton-two-Steeples* on *Firſt-day*, where the Meeting was pretty large, and to good Satisfaction; and that Evening came back to a Meeting at *Leiceſter*, *Benjamin Holme* being there alſo, and the Meeting was well and comfortable: Thence to *Hinkley*, and had a comfortable Time, and ſo to *Nuneaton*, and had a very large Meeting, which I hope was to good Purpoſe; then to *Coventry* Week-day Meeting, and to *Atherſton*; theſe Meetings were of ſome Service, but not large: Thence to *Warwick* on *Firſt-day*, and had an Evening-meeting

ing the third Day following, which were all comfortable Opportunities: Thence to *Henley* and had a ſmall Evening-Meeting; but Friends were too negligent in acquainting their Neighbours, for which I had Cauſe to blame them in ſeveral Places. From thence I went to *Birmingham*, and was at their *Sixth-day* Meeting, which was ſmall; I ſtaid over *Firſt-day*, and had two Meetings to pretty good Satisfaction, and I was comforted; the fourth Day following I was at their Monthly-meeting, which was well conducted, and I had an edifying Time in it to the Elders, to keep their Places as Watchmen over the Youth, and to be good Examples, and to take Care the Poor were not neglected, but aſſiſted in due Seaſon. From thence I went to *Stourbridge* and *Bewdley*; at *Stourbridge* we had a fine large Meeting, ſundry People came in, beſides Friends, and it was of good Service: From *Bewdley* I went to *Worceſter* on *Firſt-day*, the Morning-meeting was ſmall and heavy, but that in the Afternoon was large and more open; from thence to *Tewkſbury*, and had a very open, good, edifying Opportunity, tho' but a ſmall Meeting; thence to *Cheltenham*, where altho' I requeſted Notice might be given, it was neglected, and the Meeting was very ſmall; from thence to *Painſwick*, where I much preſs'd Notice might be given to their Neighbours; I likewiſe gave ſeveral Notice of the Meeting myſelf, deſiring them to acquaint others of it, and by this Means we had a large and open Meeting; I hope it was of good Service to ſome, they being very ſober and attentive: From thence to *Nailſworth*, and although it is a very conſiderable

Meeting, if not the largeſt in the County, it was very ſmall, yet we had a comfortable Time together. Thence I went to *Thornbury* on *Firſt-day* to a Funeral, which was very large and open; from thence to *Briſtol*, and was at the *Third* and *Sixth-day* Meetings, and on *Firſt-day* at two Meetings, which were all well and comfortable; thence back to *Thornbury* to the Funeral of a worthy Elder, *Thomas Ally*, he was much reſpected, which his Neighbours manifeſted by giving their Attendance at the Meeting, which made it very large; and many divine Truths were opened, which appeared to Satisfaction, there being Teachers of ſundry Profeſſions, who were very attentive: Thence to *Frenchay*, a ſmall Meeting, and ſo to *Briſtol*; I was at the *Sixth-day* Meeting, and at a Funeral in *Temple-ſtreet*, where many of the People called *Methodiſts* came; I ſtaid over *Firſt-day*, and had two Meetings, being edified in both, but the laſt in *Temple-ſtreet* rather exceeded: From thence I came to *Daſſil* near *Shipton-Mallet*, and had a very ſatisfactory Meeting at *Roſcombe*, about a Mile off *Daſſil*, where ſundry *Baptiſts*, *Methodiſts*, and other Diſſenters came, being all very ſober and attentive; and indeed what much contributed to enlarge the Number was, that the *Baptiſt* Teacher gave Notice both to his own People and the Inhabitants of the Place, and gave his Attendance himſelf; and after Meeting he came to the Friend's Houſe where we dined, and deſired a little Converſation, which was readily complied with; this gave ſome reaſon to think he intended to *object*, but it proved to the contrary, for he was rather too much abounding in his Praiſe, commending

commending what he had heard more than I approved of, wanting to know, whether I had not ſtudied that Sermon (as he called it) before I came there: My Anſwer to it was, *I knew not when I came there, whether I ſhould have any Thing to ſay or not, ſo far I was from having any Thing provided beforehand:* He ſaid it was a very good Sermon, and very ſuitable for them who heard it. He was very loving, and ſo we parted.

From *Roſcombe* I came to *Long-Sutton*, and had a ſmall Meeting; thence to *Sherborne* Meeting, the ſmalleſt I ever was at, or had in that Place, and to but little Satisfaction; the Smallneſs of the Number was much owing to the want of Notice to the Town's People; from thence to a Funeral at *Yeovill*, of an antient Woman of ninety-five and upwards; a large Company of Neighbours attended the Corps, and we had a good Time, the People being very ſerious, and ſeemed edified with what was ſpoken; from thence I came Home, it being the 16th of the *Twelfth-Month* 1747.

I ſtaid at Home, and viſited the neighbouring Meetings until the 2d of the *Third-Month* 1748, and then went towards *Briſtol* Yearly-meeting, but had no Meeting till I came there, except the Monthly-meeting for the North Diviſion of the County of *Somerſet*, and though it was very ſmall, the Affairs thereof were conducted with Prudence and Judgment; thence to *Briſtol* Yearly-meeting, which was to general Satisfaction.

From *Briſtol* I went to *Bath*, and had a ſmall Meeting, and ſo to *Pickwick*; I had a ſmall Meeting

ing at *Corſham*, and then went to *Bradford* on *Firſt-day*; the Morning-meeting was ſmall, but pretty open, that in the Afternoon was very large, and I was concerned to diſtinguiſh between the *Theory* and the *practical Part* of true Religion, and many of the People called *Methodiſts* being there, were very attentive; all was quiet, and ended well; thence I went back to *Pickwick* to the Mens Monthly-meeting, and the adjourned Quarterly-meeting for the County, it was very ſmall, which manifeſted too much Neglect amongſt the Elders of the Society there for the Service of theſe Meetings. From thence I came to the *Devizes*, *Melkſham*, and *Market-Lavington*, and had a Meeting at each Place, which were pretty comfortable; ſo to *Saliſbury* on *Firſt-day*, and had two large Meetings there: A great many *Methodiſts* came to both Meetings, and were in their Appearance and Behaviour very agreeable; ſeveral were partly convinced, and conſtantly attended Meetings; I had very ſuitable Doctrine to their unſettled States, and ſeeking Conditions, for they ſeemed to be enquiring the Way to the Kingdom, with their Faces thither-wards; and I hope there will be an Increaſe in that Place to our Society.

From *Saliſbury* I went to *Alton*, and had but one ſmall Meeting there, and ſo for *London* to the Yearly-meeting, which was very large; and many hopeful young People of both Sexes attended it, who ſeemed very likely to come up in the Places of the Faithful already gone, and a going to their long Homes, and my Heart rejoiced to ſee and find in them a right Concern for the Cauſe of the Goſpel, and

Zeal

Zeal to keep up the Teſtimony their Parents joyfully ſuffered for: We had ſeveral acceptable and edifying Times, and the Affairs of the Meeting were conducted in great Love and Condeſcenſion, and ended well; the laſt or concluding Meeting was very large, and the only one I had a particular Concern for before I left Home, but I was almoſt ſhut out, being ſo narrowed up for Time by thoſe who appeared before me, that it ſeemed quite unſeaſonable and dangerous to hold the Meeting longer, and not like to comport with the Health of the People; but yet my Age and Infirmity conſidered, and it appearing doubtful whether I might have the like Opportunity, and being preſs'd in Spirit thereto, I ſtood up under great Fear and Weakneſs; but I was immediately ſtrengthened by the good Word of Life, through which I was helped, and came off beyond my Expectations, being afterwards filled with divine Peace and Conſolation, which confirmed me that I was in my Place and Duty.

I ſtaid in *London* over *Firſt-day*, but had no Service in public Miniſtry, except at the Morning-meeting of Miniſters on *Second-day*, where I was very much drawn forth to the Miniſters, the Meeting being very large with Country Friends, and I was much comforted in that Meeting. Next Morning I went, with my worthy Friend *Samuel Waring*, by *Eſher* to *Alton*, and ſtaid their *Firſt-day* Meeting, and had a Meeting at *Great-Fraile*, and ſtaid the Monthly-meeting at *Alton*, which was comfortable and well, tho' not much Appearance of Service: From thence I went to *Rumſey*, but was taken very ill on the Road,

and

and was very much fatigued, but next Day was bravely recovered, and had a ſmall Meeting with the two Families, which was very comfortable; thence to *Ringwood* on *Firſt-day*, and had two open Meetings; the next Day was their Quarterly-meeting, where their Affairs were well conducted: The Day following was the Yearly-meeting of the two Counties of *Southampton* and *Dorſet*, pretty large both in the Forenoon and Afternoon, and were of good Service to Appearance. Thence to *Pool* to the Quarterly-meeting of *Dorſetſhire*, and I ſtaid there over *Firſt-day*, and had two pretty full Meetings, eſpecially the laſt, which was very large and open; many divine Truths were clearly and plainly declared to the People, who by their Stillneſs and Attention manifeſted a good Diſpoſition to hear and be informed; I ſtaid the *Fourth-day*, and then came Home the laſt Day of the *Fifth-Month* 1748.

An ACCOUNT *of my* JOURNEY *to* Briſtol *Yearly-meeting, and to* London, Norwich, *&c.*

I Left Home the 17th of the *Second-Month* 1749, and had one Meeting at *Croſcoume*, or *Coſcoome*, near *Shipton-Mallet*, to good Satisfaction; thence to *Briſtol*, and ſtaid the Yearly-meeting, where I had ſome very agreeable Opportunities, both in the ſelect and public Meetings. Being clear of that Place, I proceeded by *Chippenham*, *Caln*, and *Marlborough*, and had a Meeting in each Place; thence to *Newbury*, being *Firſt-day*, and had two Meetings, the laſt pretty large and agreeable; thence to *Reading*, *Henley*, *Wickham*,

Wickham, and *Uxbridge*, had but small Meetings, tho' satisfactory Opportunities at each Place: From *Uxbridge* I went to *London*, and had sundry very acceptable Times in the select Meetings of Ministers, and was largely opened in the public Meetings, and I found my Concern to grow upon me; but when I was clear I left *London*, in Company with *John Wilson* of *Kendal*, who went to visit his Wife, who had received some Hurt by a Fall from her Horse near *Billerica*; she lodged at a Friend's House in a Parish called *Stock*, and I lodged at my Friend *Samuel Arnold*'s Country-house. We found *John*'s Wife finely recovered, and we rode together next Day to *Colchester*, being the 27th of the *Third-Month*, the Yearly-meeting beginning next Day, and the Quarterly-meeting for the County the Day following, and the select Meeting of Ministers on the Morning of the third Day of the Week, which appeared to me but of little Advantage; but the public Meetings were both very large and edifying, and ended well, and to good Satisfaction. Thence to *Maningtree*, and had a small Meeting, and so to *Ipswich*, and was at their Weekly-meeting in Company with *Jane Hoskins* (formerly *Fenn*) and *Elizabeth Hudson*, both from *Pennsylvania*, who had agreeable Service amongst Friends: I staid in *Ipswich* over the *First-day*, and the last Meeting was very large, being appointed about the fourth Hour in the Afternoon, and many of sundry Professions were there, and were very attentive and sober; and some very much affected and broken into Tears, so that I hope that Meeting was of Service to many: I was largely opened on

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the Subject of *working out our own Salvation*, and he *Means whereby it is attainable*.

From *Ipſwich* I went to *Woodbridge*, it being the Quarterly-meeting for the County of *Suffolk*, and there being ſome Uneaſineſs amongſt them, Friends were concerned to adviſe them to a Reconciliation, leſt by continuing in their Uneaſineſs, they ſhould be wounded by a Breach of Union and Affection. The Meeting, by Adjournment, held all Day, and Friends ſeemed in a tolerable Sweetneſs and Condeſcention one to another, though a party contentious Spirit had too much got in among them. Next Morning was a Meeting of Miniſters, to good Satisfaction; and then the Yearly-meetings of Worſhip followed, which were exceeding large, and the Parting-meeting the Day following; they were all very much to Satisfaction: In the Parting-meeting I was much enlarged on the *progreſſive Advancement* in a living and ſaving Faith, which is the very Life of true Religion; and we had a ſmall Meeting the Day following, being their Weekly-meeting. Then I went to *Brandon*, *Edmund Peckover* being with me, and he had very good Service, and the Meeting ended well; then I went back to *Woodbridge*, and ſtaid over *Firſt-day*, but there were very few beſides Friends, though it was expected the laſt Meeting would have been large, but for want of Notice it was not. Thence to *Layſton* and *Peaſon-hall*, and *Beckles*, and had a ſmall Meeting at each Place, but to tolerable Satisfaction; thence to *Mutford* and *Paikfield*, and had as large Meetings as the Accommodation would permit; what was chiefly wanting, was Room for the

the People in both Places; thence to *Yarmouth*, and had a pretty large Meeting to Edification; thence to *North-Walsham*, and had a small Meeting to little Purpose; thence to *Norwich* Yearly-meeting, which was very large: I was enlarged on the *Qualifications* of true Ministers, shewing, that without the divine Aid of the Spirit of Truth, that Work could not be rightly performed to the Edification of the Hearers.

From *Norwich* I went to *Lamas* General-meeting, which was very large, too much for the House to contain, but the People were very quiet; thence back to *Norwich*, staid there the Week-day and *First-day* Meetings following, where I had ten Meetings, though in two of them I had Nothing to say, and the Meetings were mostly very large and to good Purpose, being full enough for my natural Strength to go thro' with; but thankful and glad I was, finding inward Strength and Assistance every Day to help me through so well, to my own Comfort and his Praise, who is God blessed for ever; and he has given me Faith to believe, that so long as he engages my Mind in the Work of the Ministry, he will give a fresh Supply of Strength, both inward and outward, adequate to his Requirings. From *Norwich* I came to *Muttishal*, *Winaham*, and *Teasborough*, and had a Meeting at each Place, the last was enlarged considerably with Friends from *Norwich*; Things were middling, no Cause of Complaint; but I was under great Poverty of Spirit in these small Meetings: Thence to *Diss* to a general Meeting; Friends from *Norwich* and other distant Places came in and attended us, that it laid me very low indeed; but I saw

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in the Opening of divine Virtue, that as the Bleſſing of Chriſt my Maſter, upon a ſmall Quantity of but plain and low Food, gave Satisfaction to a Multitude, more than we were like to be, ſo I found it beſt to retire to my Gift, and be ſtill: The Meeting was very large, quiet, and well, and I was concerned to ſet forth the Folly and Emptineſs of all Forms of Religion, without the Virtue and Power of the Spirit of Chriſt, and was opened on this Subject very largely, much to my own Satisfaction, all being quiet and well. Thence to *Bardwell*, and had a ſmall Meeting, which was pretty well; thence to *Bury*, and ſo to *Ratleſdon*; I had three Meetings at *Bury*, and one at the other Place, all to pretty good Satisfaction.

From *Ratleſdon* I went to *Walden*, *Royſton*, and *Baldock*, and ſo to *Hitching*, but had but low Times in all theſe laſt Meetings; thence to *Hartford* and *Ware*, and had tolerable good Satisfaction in both Places; thence to *Biſhop-Stortford*, and *Dunmow*, and had a ſmall Meeting at each Place; and ſo to *Chelmsford* on *Firſt-day*; Things were well and comfortable: Thence to *Billerica*, and had a ſmall Meeting, and then went with my Friend *Samuel Arnold* to his Houſe, in a Pariſh called *Stock*, and ſtaid ſome Days, and then came with him to *London*, being the 20th of the *Sixth-Month* 1749.

I ſtaid in Town ſeveral Weeks, and my Concern grew upon me, and being filled with Goſpel Virtue, I had ſome very agreeable Service, viſiting all the Meetings in the City, ſome three or four Times over, and the *Firſt-day* Meetings were very full, but Week-day Meetings were ſmall.

Finding

Finding myself easy and clear of the Town, I left it in great Peace on the 3d of the *Eighth-Month* 1749, and came to *Esher* to a small Meeting, so to *Guildford*, *Godalmin*, and *Alton*, *Basingstoke*, *Baghurst*, and *Andover*, and had some very agreeable Times, and in the main was pretty well satisfied. Thence to *Salisbury*, and had a very full Meeting, sundry *Methodists* being there; so to *Fording-bridge*, and was at a Funeral, where many People attended; I had good Satisfaction in being there, and left the Place in much Comfort and inward Peace; thence to *Ringwood*, and had a pretty large Evening-meeting to good Satisfaction, thence to *Pool*, and so to *Weymouth*, and had Opportunities in both Places; and from thence I came Home, being the 2d of the *Ninth-Month* 1749.———

From this Time it does not appear that our dear Friend kept any Account of the Meetings he attended, but upon Application to his Monthly-meeting, they sent us the following brief Testimony of his Service, from the Time he finished his Journal his Decease, *viz.*

From our Monthly-meeting held at Bridport, *the of the* Ninth-Month 1755, *to Friends at t* Second-day's *Morning-meeting in* London.

Dear Friends and Brethren:

THE Journal of our dear and worthy Friend *Samuel Bownas*, seems to break off somewhat abruptly, ending the 2d of the *Ninth-Month* 1749,

and we cannot find that he kept any Account of his Travels, Labours and Services in the Miniſtry, from that Time to the Time of his Deceaſe, which was on the ſecond Day of the *Fourth-Month* 1753, during which Time he took no long Journeys, for being advanced in Years, his Hands ſhook and Eye-ſight failed him much, but he was very diligent in attending Meetings both at Home and in the Neighbourhood, for twenty or thirty Miles round, as long as his Health and Strength continued; and his Miniſtry was lively and powerful to the laſt, to the Edification and Comfort of thoſe that were favoured with it, and his Removal was a great Loſs to Friends in theſe Parts, but we have Reaſon to believe it was his great Gain, for in his laſt Illneſs, which was very ſhort, he ſeemed quite ſenſible of his approaching Change, ſaying, that he could not ſtay long with us, and hoped that kind Providence would be pleaſed to take him to himſelf.

Signed in and on Behalf of the ſaid Meeting, by

JOSEPH CURTIS,
ROBERT CURTIS,
THOMAS WESTCOMBE,
WILLIAM KENWAY,
JOSEPH HUTCHINS.

F I N I S.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE

OF THAT

Ancient Servant of JESUS CHRIST,

JOHN RICHARDSON,

Giving a RELATION of many of his *Trials* and *Exercises* in his Youth, and his SERVICES in the Work of the Miniſtry, in ENGLAND, IRELAND, AMERICA, *&c.*

He that heareth you, heareth me: And he that deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me: And he that deſpiſeth me, deſpiſeth him that ſent me, Luke x. 16.

LONDON PRINTED:

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THE TESTIMONY OF

FRIENDS belonging to *Gisbrough* Monthly-meeting, concerning our Worthy Friend JOHN RICHARDSON, who departed this Life, near *Hutton* in the *Hole*, the 2d of the *Fourth Month* 1753, in the Eighty ſeventh Year of his Age, and was buried in Friends Burying Ground at *Kirby-moorſide*.

AS many of our Elders are removed, and but few left who had perſonal Knowledge of this our Friend in his younger Years, and early Part of his Service, we cannot give ſo full an Account thereof as otherwiſe might have been done.

Nevertheleſs, by Accounts tranſmitted to us, we have Cauſe to believe he was much devoted and chearfully given up to walk in the Way of his Duty, and therein was of great Service to the Churches where his Lot was caſt; as alſo an Inſtrument in the Divine Hand, in turning many to Righteouſneſs.

As to the latter Part of his Life, we have this Teſtimony to give of him, That he was a Lover of Diſcipline and good Order in the Church, diligent in attending Meetings for Worſhip and Truth's Service, whilſt of Ability; a good Example therein, by ſitting in a ſtill, quiet, and unaffected Manner in Silence, and when raiſed up to bear a publick

Teſtimony,

Teſtimony, was comfortable and acccptable to Friends.

And when his natural Faculties were ſomewhat impair'd, and he confined at home thro' old Age and Infirmities, he appeared more and more heavenly minded, and ſeem'd to grow in the Life of Religion, that we hope he is now at Reſt in the Fruition of that Happineſs prepared for ſuch as hold out to the End in well doing.

Signed on Behalf of the ſaid Meeting, held at Caſtleton *the 22d of the* Third Month, 1754, *by*

JOHN SNOWDON
WILLIAM PEIRSON
JOHN FLINTOFT
JOHN WILSON
THOMAS WARD
ONESIPHORUS HOOPUS
ISAAC STOCKTON
JOHN BAKER
THOMAS WOOD
JOHN STEPHENSON
ISAAC TAYLOR
THOMAS ELLERBY
CALEB FLETCHER
JOHN MARTIN
GEORGE COATS
GEORGE MASON
JOSEPH FLINTOFT
RICHARD WILSON
WILLIAM HARTAS
JOSEPH HESLETON.

AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN RICHARDSON,

Introduced

With a brief Relation *concerning his Father* WILLIAM RICHARDSON.

IT has beea repeatedly revived in my M[illegible] the to leave the followlng Account concern[ing] my dear Father WILLIAM RICHARDSON having alſo ſeen ſomething of his own in Manuſcript, concerning his *Conv ncement*, with Remarks on ſome other Things; but I being young when he died, did not then much heed it, and when I would gladly have ſeen it for my own Satisfaction, I could [not] nor as yet can meet with it; therefore,

Inaſmuch as my Father was early convinced of the Truth, a Sufferer for it, and bore a public Teſtimony to it, I found it my Duty, as near as I coutd remember the Contents thereof, to leave this ſhort Account concerning him, *viz.*

He was born at *North-Cave*, in the East Part of *Yorkshire*, in the Year 1624, of honest Parents, and of good Repute, and was educated in the *Episcopal* Way being soberly inclined from his Childhood and upward, a Lover and Seeker after Purity and Virtue: And I have heard him say, gave his Mind much to Retirement, reading the holy Scriptures, breathing and seeking after the Lord, especially in the Fields, being by Calling a *Shepherd*; and it pleased the Lord to open his Understanding so clearly, that he saw and longed for a more excellent Dispensation to come; and also saw that the Priests were wrong, and generally proud and covetous, so that he was weary with following them, and much weaned from them and all Company, except two or three Men who did meet with him, and spoke one unto another concerning their inward Conditions, and what they had experienced of the Lord's Dealings with them. This was JOHN before they had heard of the Name *Quaker*, as it was THO short Time after given to the People which the ORD raised up to give Testimony of the notable and Ist tient, yet newly revived and blessed Dispensation of Christ's Coming, and Manifestation by the holy Spirit, inwardly in the Hearts and Minds of the Children of Men, in order to enlighten, quicken, sanctify, and save them from Darkness, Death, Ignorance and Sin, that they might be made capable of obeying, worshiping and glorifying the great God and Sanctifier of them.

And as my Father was thus waiting and looking for a more general breaking forth of this glorious, powerful and Gospel-day, which had in a good degree

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gree ſprung up in his Heart, he had not, as yet, ſeen that worthy and good Man GEORGE FOX, although he paſſed through thoſe Parts about that Time; but ſoon after came WILLIAM DEWSBERRY, and at the Sound of his Voice, I have heard my Father ſay, he was exceeding glad, in hearing him declare the Way to find the loſt Piece of Silver, the Pearl of great Price *with in*, a Saviour *near*, that had been held forth by Men to be at a diſtance. Bat having left the darſt Watchmen, of whom they uſed to enquire, they now met with their Beloved at home, in their own Boſoms; renowned be the great Name of the Lord, now and for ever.

Thus the hearing and receiving the ever bleſſed Truth, was as the Seed, or Word of the Kingdom, ſown in the *good Ground*, or honeſt Hearts of Men, which took Root downward and ſprang upward, and brought forth Fruit in ſome *thirty*, in ſome *ſixty*, and in others an *hundred Fold*, to the Praiſe of the great and good Huſbandman.

My ſaid Father was early raiſed up to bear a public Teſtimony, which was living and acceptable to Friends, but was ſo much attended with Weakneſs of Body for many Years, that he went little abroad in the Work of the Miniſtry. He ſuffered patiently the Spoiling of his Goods, and Impriſonment of his weakly Body, in the great and more general Impriſonment; he not only believed in Jeſus Chriſt, but ſuffered for him; he was a good Neighbour, a loving Huſband, and a tender Father over all that was good, but ſevere to all that which was wrong, and was for Judgment, without Reſpect of Perſons, and

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ſpared it not even to his own Children ; and eſpecially he was much concerned for me, *for*, as he ſaid, *I was the wildeſt of them* ; and as he lived well, and believed in Jeſus Chriſt, I doubt not but he has finiſhed his Courſe in the Love and Favour of God, is entered into Manſion of Glory, and is at Reſt with all the Faithful who *loved not their Lives unto Death*, but rather hated them in Compariſon of that endeared and unfeigned Love the bore to God the Father, and to Jeſus Chriſt his dear and well-beloved Son, who died for them, and alſo for the whole World.

He departed this Life in 1679, aged about fifty-five Years, and was decently buried in Friends burying Place in *Hatham*, near *Cave*, where he was born.

NOW having given this ſhort Account concerning my Father, it remains with me to leave to Poſterity ſome Remarks on my *Convincement*, with an Account of ſundry Tranſactions, Travels, Healings, and Deliverances I met with, in and from my Youth to this Day, with ſome Advice and openings in the Spirit of Truth.

I was young when my Father died, not above thirteen Years of Age, yet the Lord was at work by his Light, Grace and holy Spirit in my Heart, but I knew not then what it was which inwardly diſquieted my Mind, when any Thing which was evil did prevail over the Good in me, which it oftentimes did, for want of taking heed to that of God in my Heart ;

Heart, I desired Ease and Peace some other Way, without taking up the Cross of Christ to my own corrupt Will, and strove for some Time (as no doubt many do) to make merry over the just Witness until for a Season the converting and true Witness of God seemed to be slain, or disappeared, and then I took Liberty, but not in grooss Evils which many ran into, being preserved religiously inclined, seeking after Professors, and enquiring of them, for my Information and Satisfaction, to find (if I could) any Thing that was safe to rest in, or any true and solid Comfort to my poor disconsolate and bewildered Soul, but I was afraid I should be deceived, or take up a false Rest in any Thing that was wrong or unsafe; which was the great Love and Mercy of God to me. But after many Searchings and Enquirings among those who were but in the Letter without, and in the outward Court, wheae the Veil is over the Understanding, and the Eye of the Mind is not truly opened to see into Things that are invisible, and hid from all carnal-minded Men; even so was my State and Afflictions hid from them, and all the deceitful Workings of Satan, and the strong Temptations which I met with, these blind Guides could not see, nor their veiled Understandings know how to direct me to the true Shepherd of *Israel*, the Law-giver coming out of *Sion*, that turns away Ungodliness from *Jacob*, and Transgression from *Israel*; not having truly experienced Deliverance wrought in them out of this cloudy, bewildered and tempted State which I was in. Oh! that People would come to him that hath the *Eye-salve*, with which if the Eye be truly anoint-

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ed, it will ſee clearly Thinge as they are, ane not darkly, miſtaking Trees for Men, and Things terreſtial for Things cœleſtial; and that they would buy Gold, tried by the Fire of him that is called the *tried Stone*, *elect* and *precious*, laid in *Sion* for a Foundation: This is *Chriſt* whom the true Church believes in, and builds upon, and they are enriched with his Love, Power and Virtue, which is better than Gold outwardly; this is the *Anointing*, and the *Unction*, which the trne Church hath, and doth receive from Chriſt the holp One; and ſuch as do truly put on his Righteouſneſs, Purity, and Holineſs, their Cloathing is better than that of fine Linen outwardly. Oh! that all the Inhabitants of the Earth might be thus anointed, enriched and truly cloathed, that no more inward Blindneſs or Poverty may be found in the Children of Men, nor the Shame of their Nakedneſs be any more ſeen, now or hereafter.

Receive and learn theſe Things, you that can, of him that is the faithful and true Witneſs, that always witneſſeth againſt the Evil in Man, but always giveth Witneſs to the Father, for the good in Men which they do ſay and think. This is the Spirit of him that *was dead*, *and is alive*, *no more to be known after the Fleſh*, as the Apoſtle gave Teſtimony, and is to be known inwardly and ſpirituallp by the Childreu of Men, to open the blind Eye, and unſtop the deaf Ear, and pierceth into the Soul that hath been clouded and captivated, impriſoned and miſguided, and even in a Wilderneſs, and ſees not a Way of Deliverance; like *Iſrael* in the Lanp of *Egypt*, when the Lord JEHOVAH ſent *Moſes*, a lively Type of Chriſt,

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and employed him in that great Work of pleading with, and plaguing *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*; yet for a Time their Burthens and Afflictions were increased, and their Exercises more imbittered unto them, until that great and marvellous Work was in a good degree accomplished, which was their Deliverance out of *Egypt*, the great and mighty Work for which *Moses* was chiefly sent; which Deliverance was not wrought until the First-born of Man, and of Beast, was slain throughout all the Land of *Egypt*.

Now the clear Opening I had in the Light, of what is to be understood, and gathered from hence, is not the *slaying of the outward Man*, but a *putting off*, or *slaying the Body of the Sins of the Flesh*, crucifying, or *putting off the old Man with his Deeds*; and as to the *Beast*, all Cruelty, Lust, Pushing, Tearing, Devouring, and Savageness, is to be slain or put away; and the corrupt or strong Will of Man, as well as what is beastial, must be slain before Man can come from under the Power of him who is called the *Prince of the Power of the Air*, who *rules in the Hearts of the Children of Disobedience*. These Things must be experienced, before the Children of Men can go forth rightly qualified to glorify God, and follow his dear Son, whom he hath appointed to be *a Leader*, and *a Commander of his People*: This is he, as *Moses* declares, *who is to be heard in all Things*, under the Penalty of *being cut off from the People*; or of having *their Names blotted out of the Book of Life*; or being *deprived of the Comforts of the Lord's holy Presence*. Read this, you who have heard and understood *what the Spirit saith unto the Churches*.—These Things I saw,

saw, after the true Witness arose or revived, and the Light did shine which had disappeared, or had been clouded. I have been led into these Openings, which have caused a little Digression from my Wilderness State I mentioned before, which I now return to.

After much Searching without, amongst those who proved to me *Physicians of no Value*, and *miserable Comforters*, I betook myself to a lonesome and retired Life, breathing after, and seeking the Lord in the Fields, and private Places, beseeching him, that he would *bring me to the saving Knowledg, of his Truth*; and blessed be the Name of the Lord now and for ever, I had not sought him long with all my Heart, before I met with his inward Appearance to me, in and by his holy Spirit, Light and Grace; but when the true Light did begin to shine more clearly, and the living Witness did arise in my inward Man, Oh then my undone, bewildered and miserable Condition began to appear, and then great and unutterable were my Conflicts, and the Distress I was in; I thought no Man's Condition upon the Face of the whole Earth was like mine; I thought I was not fit to die, neither did I know how to live; I thought in the Evening, *Oh! that it was Morning*; and in the Morning, *that it was Evening*. I had many solitary Walks in the Fields, and other Places in which I many Times poured out my Complaints and Cries before the Lord, with fervent Supplications to him, that he would look upon my Afflictions, and the strong Temptations I was then under, and that he would rebuke the Adversary of my Soul, and deliver it, for I even thought it was as in the Jaws of a devouring

vouring Lion, and amongſt the fiery Spirits, and, as it were, under the Weight of the Mountains. Read and underſtand the Afflictions of thy Brother, thou that haſt come through great Tribulations, and haſt waſhed and made thy Garments white in the Blood of the Lamb; this is the Beginning of that Baptiſm which *doth ſave*, and of that Waſhing of Regeneration, and renewing of the holy Ghoſt, which the Lord *ſheds upon the Believers in abundance*; this is the Blood which *ſprinkleth the Heart from an evil Conſcience, that the Children of Men*, thus changed, *may ſerve the living and true God*; this is the Life which *converts the World*, even as many as are converted; this is the Virtue, Life and Blood, which *maketh clean the Saints Garments, and inwardly waſheth them from all Filthineſs, both of Fleſh and Spirit*. I found this was and is he of whom it is ſaid, *by him were all Things made, and he is Lord of all*; a Man ought to be ſubſervient to him, and all Things in Man ſubſervient to him, who commands and comprehends all Things, in whom all the Types and Shadows alſo do end, or are fulfilled. Read this thou Virgin Daughter, or clean Church of Chriſt, *the Rock of thy Strength*, whoſe Name to thee is *as precious Ointment poured forth*, and *becauſe of the Savour thereof, the Virgins love him*, and are under great Obligations to obey and follow him the Lamb of God, whereſoever he leadeth.

Although I had ſeen many Things, and had divers Openings, yet great were my Trials, and many were the Temptations I met with in thoſe Days, for I lived at a Diſtance from Friends, and Meetings

which made my Exercise the harder, as will more fully hereafter appear, in the Course of my Travels and Pilgrimage in this Vale of Tears and Troubles, and some of them not very common; but the Lord helped me through them all, blessed be his Name for ever.

I now came to witness that Scripture to be fulfilled, which saith, that *when the Lord's Judgments are in the Earth*, or earthly Hearts of Men, *the Inhabitants learn Righteousness:* And notwithstanding there was an Aversion in my wild Nature to the People in scorn called *Quakers*, as also to the Name itself, yet when the afflicting Hand of the Lord was upon me for my Disobedience, and when, like *Ephraim* and *Judah*, I saw in the Light *my Hurt* and *my Wound*, I bemoaned myself, and mourned over that just Principle of Light and Grace in me, which I had pierced with my Sins and Disobedience; and although that Ministration of Condemnation was glorious in its Time, yet great were my Troubles, which humbled my Mind, and made me willing to deny myself of every Thing which the Light made known in me to be evil, I being in great Distress, and wanting Peace and Assurance of the Love of God to my Soul; the Weight of which so humbled my Mind, that I knew not of any Calling, People, Practice, or Principle, that was lawful and right, which I could not embrace, or fall in with. This was surely like the Day of *Jacob*'s Troubles, and *David*'s Fears; I saw that the Filth of *Sion* was to be purged away by the Spirit of Judgment and of Burning; this is the Way of the Deliverance and Recovery of poor Men out of the

the Fall, and the Time of the Reſtoration of the Kingdom to God's true *Iſrael.* Read ye that can, and underſtand. This was the Day of my Baptiſm into the Love of God, and true Faith in his beloved Son, as alſo into a Feeling of, or Sympathy with him in his Sufferings, which were unutterable, and I found that Miniſtration changed; that which *had been unto Death*, was now unto Life; and the Miniſtration which was *of Condemnation* unto the firſt Birth, when that was ſlain, and in a good degree nailed or faſtned to the Croſs of Chriſt the Power of God, then the Good prevailed over the Evil, and working out the Evil in the Mind, and alſo in the Members, made all good or holy. The Lord's living Power, and conſuming burning Word, when it works and prevails, it brings into Subjection, and maketh the very Heart or Ground holy in Men.

Whereas there had been an Averſion in me to the People called in ſcorn *Quakers*, and alſo to their ſtrict living, and Demeanour, Plainneſs of Habit, and Language, none of which I learned from them; for when the Lord changed my Heart, he alſo changed my Thoughts, Words and Ways, and there became an Averſion in me to Vice, Sin and Vanity, as there had been to the Ways of Virtue; but having taſted of the Terrors and Judgments of God becauſe of Sin, I was warned to flee from ſuch Things as occaſioned Chriſt's Coming, *not to bring Peace upon the Earth, but a Sword*; a Sword indeed, yea, his Heart penetrating, ſearching Word, *which is ſharper than any two-edged Sword* that pierceth to the cutting, or *dividing aſunder between Fleſh and Spirit, Joints and Marrow.*

Marrow. And as thus I came to see and abhor the Evil in myself, when such who had been my Companions in Vanity reviled me, or came in my Way, I was often moved to warn and reprove them, having, as before hinted, tasted of the Terrors of the Lord for Sin, I could not well forbear to warn others to flee such Things as I had been judged for. Now I came clearly to be convinced about the *Hat-honour, bowing the Knee*, the *corrupt Language*, as well as *finery* in *Habit*; all which for Conscience-sake, and the Peace thereof, I came to deny, and take up the Cross to, and had great Peace in so doing.

Although the blessed Truth thus prevailed in me, yet notwithstanding, I was not without great Conflicts of Spirit, Temptations and Trials of divers kinds; nevertheless, my Mind was resigned to the Lord, and my fervent Prayers were to him, and he kept me, and opened my Understanding, for I was afraid of being misled in any Thing, especially relating to my Salvation: I came to be weaned from all my Companions and Lovers which I had taken Delight and Pleasure in, and all Things in this World were little to me, my Mind being much redeemed out of the World, and not only the corrupt and evil Part thereof, but even from the lawful Part; so that my Heart and Mind became much inclined and given up to seek the Lord; waiting upon him to feel his Presence, and Peace, and to know his Will, and receive Power to do the same.

As thus my Mind came to be brought into a depending and waiting Frame upon the Lord, and to be stayed in the Light, and experimentally and feelingly

ingly to partake of his Love and Grace, which helped me against my Infirmities, (bleſſed be his Name) I found it ſufficient for me, as I kept to it, in all Trials and Temptations: Then I came to ſee, that all the outward Performances in Matters of Religion did not avail nor render Man acceptable to God, but as the Heart came to be truly given up to him, that he might not only purge it from Defilement, but keep it clean through the Indwelling of his holy Spirit: And, as near as I remember, I ſaw clearly through theſe Things before the ſixteenth Year of my Age; although, between the Death of my Father and this Time, I took Liberty to go among what People I would, my Mother giving us great Liberty, although ſhe was a Woman well accounted of among all People who knew her, and not undeſervedly, for her Induſtry and fair Dealing concerning the Things of this World.

After this Time I attended the Meetings of the Lord's People called *Quakers*, as diligently as my Circumſtances would well admit: My Mother being left with five Children, I had only one Siſter who was elder than myſelf, and three Brothers younger, the youngeſt about three Years old when my Father died; he leaving but little of this World to bring us up with; yet my Parents always had as much as kept them above Contempt, and no Body loſt by them; but I found myſelf under a Neceſſity to work hard for my own Support, the Help of my Mother, and Education of my Brothers, more eſpecially as my Siſter died ſoon after.

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We being left in a Farm of Grazing, and part Husbandry or Tillage, did well as to the Things of this World, yet I cannot well omit mentioning one Thing which became a great Exercise to me, which was thus; my Mother married one that was zealous for the *Presbytery*, and I being much against it, shewed my Dislike to the Marriage, and told my Mother, *I was afraid that she had too much an Eye to what he had*, for he was counted rich as to this World; *but if she thought to augment our Portions in so marrying, the Hand of the Lord would be against her, and a Blasting or Mildew would come upon even that which we had got through Industry and hard Labour, and what the Lord had intended to have blessed to us, if we kept faithful to the Truth, and contented ourselves with our present Condition.* Then my Mother confest, that *as to the worldly Enjoyments, it had not been better with her than now.* I must write with great Caution; she was my Mother, and a tender Mother over me, and was loth to offend me, and had promised, as far as she well durst, not to marry with any one with whom I was not satisfied. But as to their Proceedure in Courtship, and Marriage, from this Time I was intirely ignorant, until it was accomplished. But when my poor Mother was married, her Cry was, *My Son, how shall I ever be able to look him in the Face any more, it will be such a Trouble to him; he that hath not at any Time disobliged me, but if I bid him go, he ran; and if I bid him do any Thing, he did it with all his Might*; or to that Effect, as several told me who heard her. But she being married, what we had was mixed with my Father-in-Law's Goods, and

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my Mother died firſt, and our Father married again, made his Will, and dying, left me *Five Shillings* for all my Part, which was of Right to deſcend from my own Parents upon me; I gave his Executors a Receipt in full, and there was an End of all, except ſome ſmall Matter given to my youngeſt Brother, for the reſt of my Brothers and Siſters were dead. As near as I remember, this Marriage was in the eighteenth Year of my Age, ſo that what I foreſaw about the *Blaſt* and *Mildew*, came to paſs.

Now to return to my further Account concerning the Troubles and Trials that attended me in the Time while I was in my Father-in-Law and Mother's Houſe, after Marriage; we, and what we had, being removed to his Houſe, except Part of the Stock which was left in the ground. Now I foreſaw that I was like to come to a great Trial, and I was brought very low, what with the Trouble about the Marriage, and the Exerciſe of my Mind concerning my own Condition, having had many great Conflicts of Spirit, ſo that I was almoſt in Deſpair, had not the Lord, in whom I believed, riſen in his Power, and rebuked the Adverſary of my Soul, I had been overthrown, and ſwallowed up in the Floods of the Temptations that were caſt out of the Mouth of the red fiery-like Dragon after me, in this the Day of my great and ſtrong Trouble and Travail; but the God of Love and Pity ſaw me, and helped me in my Diſtreſs, and in a Day and Time acceptable; he that heard poor *Iſhmael* when he cried from under the Shrub, and ſent or gave Relief to him and his Mother, who with him was gone from *Abraham*'s Houſe, ſaw me

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in this great Streight. Alſo, when I came to my Father's Houſe, he being a Man much given to Family Duties, of ſaying Grace, *&c.* before and after Meat, none of which I could comply with, except I felt evidently the Spirit of Truth to attend therein, and open the Heart and Mouth into ſuch Duties. The firſt Day I came to the Houſe, being called to the Table with all or moſt of our Family, I thought, *Is it now come to this? I muſt either diſpleaſe my heavenly or earthly Father:* But oh! the Awfulneſs, or deep Exerciſe which was upon my Spirit, and ſtrong Cries that aſcended unto the Lord for my Help and Preſervation that I might not offend him. My Father-in-Law ſat with his Hat partly on, and partly off with his Eyes fixed on me, as likewiſe mine were on him in much Fear; ſo we continued as long or longer than he uſed to be in ſaying Grace, as they call it, but ſaid Nothing that we heard; ſo at length he put on his Hat again, to the Wonder of the Family: Neither did he then, or ever after, aſk me why I did not put off my Hat; neither did he perform that Ceremony all the Time I ſtayed with him, which was above one Year: Thus the Lord helped me, renowned be his great Name now and for ever. My Father might ſeem for Age, Spirit and Underſtanding, to have been much more than a Match for me a poor Shrub, but the Lord (who cauſed the Pillar of the Cloud to be bright and give Light to *Iſrael*, and brought Darkneſs upon the *Egyptians*, and fought againſt them, and for *Iſrael*) I believe touched and ſmote my poor Father, that he could not riſe up againſt that Power the Lord helped me with.

For

For it was not mine but the Lord's doing, to him be given the Attributes of Praiſe, Salvation and Strength, now and for ever. I ſaw clearly, that there could not be any true and acceptable Worſhip performed to God, but what was in the Spirit, and in the Truth, neither could any pray aright, but as the Spirit helped them, which teacheth how to pray, and what to pray for, and rightly prepares the Mind, and guides it in the Performance of every Service which the Lord calls for from his Children.

I found my Father-in-Law was much diſpleaſed with my going to Meetings, yet I could not ſee what Way to appeaſe his Diſpleaſure, except in being very diligent (which I was) in his Buſineſs, rather beyond my Ability, working very hard; it is almoſt incredible what my poor little weak Body went through in thoſe Days, but all would not gain his Love, for the longer I ſtayed with him, the more his Love declined from me; although I told him, *he need not be uneaſy about my Wages, for I would leave that to himſelf:* I could not ſee what he could have againſt me, except my going to Meetings, however that was all he alledged. Now when his former Stratagems would not do, he offered me a Horſe to ride on, if I would go with him to his Place of Worſhip, I met with many a Snib and ſour Countenance from him, in my return on Foot from Meetings, although as ſeaſonably as my Body was capable of performing; for my Father commonly ſent me on the *Firſt-day* Mornings into the Fields a Mile or two, and as far upon a Common to look at Beaſts, Horſe, and Sheep (all this on Foot) I thought with a De-

ſign to weary and make me uncapable of going to Meetings ; all which I bore patiently, neither, that I remember, ever ſaid, *this is hard Uſage* : after all this, to the great Grief of my poor Mother, I had to go two, three, four, five, and ſometimes ſix Miles, to Friends Meetings. After I had walked faſt, and ran ſometimes with my Shoes under my Arms for want of Time, I have ſeen many Friends weep, and could not forbear when they ſaw me come into the Meeting very hot and in a great Sweat, they being in part ſenſible of the hard Taſk I had to undergo.

There is one Thing ſomewhat remarkable, which was thus ; one *Firſt-day* Morning when I was about going to the Meeting, my Father ſaid, *if I would ride upon ſuch a young Mare*, as he mentioned, *I might* ; which was one of the greateſt of ten or twelve Horſes which he kept about four Years old, and not before rid at all : I thought his Deſign was more to hinder me of the Meeting than any Good to me, or any Expectation of getting his Mare rightly broke, but I accepted his Offer, only aſking how I might catch her ? Having got Help to anſwer that, ſhe being abroad, I put on the Bridle and mounted the topping Beaſt, and upon her firſt Reſiſtance, down ſhe came ; for that was my Way : And if the firſt or ſecond Fall did not, the third moſtly cured them from ſtriving to throw the Rider ; I commonly fell upon my Feet, and endeavoured ſo to free my Legs that ſhe might not fall upon them, and then ſprang up on her Back while down, and made her riſe with me ; ſo away we went, and came in due Time to the Meeting. This was partly the beginning of this

Way

Way of managing Horſes by me; ſo I rid to the Meetings two or three Times, and then my Father aſked me, *if the Mare did not carry me ſoberly?* I replied; *ſhe did*; then I muſt have her no more, he would make her his Saddle-Mare; ſo I betook myſelf to my Feet again, except ſome other ſuch like Turn came. The Lord's mighty Power bore me up, and he gave me as it were Hinds Feet, and enabled me to go through theſe Exerciſes, and to bear the Burthen in the Heat of the Day of my Trials, inwardly and outwardly, which were many and various.

Now the laſt Stratagem my Father uſed to hinder my going to Meetings was thus; he took me in his Arms in great ſhew of Kindneſs, ſaying, *if I would be as a Son to him, I ſhould find he would be a Father to me*, expreſſing ſomething about his having no near Kindred, (and much more to the ſame Effect he ſaid to my Brother *Daniel*, who was an innocent, wiſe, and clean-ſpirited Lad) I reply'd to him, *if in thus making me thy Son, thou intends to hinder me from going to Meetings, or to oblige me to go with thee to the* Preſbyterian *Meetings, or any Thing that is againſt my Conſcience, I cannot upon this Bottom be thy Son*; and for the ſame Reaſons, I refuſed to be his hired Servant, although he offered to hire me, and give me Wages. Now when he ſaw that neither Frowns, Threatnings, Hardſhips, nor great Promiſes of Kindneſs could prevail with me, he told me bluntly and roughly *I ſhould ſtay no longer in his Houſe*: I innocently anſwered, *I could not help it if it muſt be ſo, as all I could do would not give him Content, without hurting my Conſcience, and the Peace of my Mind, which I*

valued

valued above all mutable Things of this World. My poor Mother heard my pleading with him, and how I offered to do the beſt for him I was capable of by Night or Day, (as I always had done) if he would be eaſy, and let me have his Countenance; but this was the Sentence, *No, I ſhould not ſtay in the Houſe:* And indeed that troubled my poor Mother ſo, that I was forced to leave my Father, and go to endeavour to mitigate her great Trouble by telling her, *that if I was but faithful, the Lord, I believed, would take Care of me that I ſhould not want*; and the more fully to diſcharge myſelf, I reminded her, *that as ſhe had entered into Marriage Covenants with her Huſband, ſhe ſhould endeavour to perform them, and in every Thing faithfully to diſcharge herſelf as a Wife ought to do to a Huſband, and leave me and all, and cleave to him, and to make her Life as eaſy as ſhe could:* I alſo told her, *never to ſend me any Thing that my Father knew not of, for I was not free to receive it*; although what we had was in his Hand, and all ſunk there, as I mentioned before.

I write this partly, that all who do marry, may take ſpecial heed that it be done with great Caution, and under due Conſideration, and the Lord ſought to in it, that it may be done in his Counſel, and not only nominally, but truly *in his Fear*, and then no doubt but it will be well with both Huſband and Wife; and being equally yoked, ſuch will not only be meet and true Helpers in all Things belonging to this Life, but more eſpecially in Things appertaining to the World that is to come, and the Good of the immortal Soul, which to the faithful People of the

Lord

Lord is of great Value. Oh, how happily and peaceably do such live together in the Lord, as they keep to that which thus joined them! There is more in it, both as to the Parents and their Posterity, than it is to be feared many consider or think of, as is but too apparent in the many froward and unequal Marriages which I have made Observation of.

One remarkable Passage occurs to my Thoughts, which happened thus; my Father having been at the *Presbyterian* Meeting and come home, he, as his Manner was, put me or my Brother upon reading the Priest's Text, which had been that Day in *Daniel*, concerning his being cast into the Den of Lions for his not regarding the King's Decree, but on the contrary prayed to the God of Heaven with his Windows open towards *Jerusalem*, after his wonted Manner. My Father made his Observations as my Brother read, and very much magnified *Daniel*, and said, *the Spirit of God was in him, but that there were none such as him in these our Days.* I owned that he was indeed an *extraordinary Man*, but that there were *none endowed with a Measure of the same Spirit in any Degree*, in that I dissented from him, and gave my Father a brief Account of the many Sufferings of our Friends, some of which were past, and some of them under Sufferings for the Word of God, and the Testimony of Jesus, which they bore for him, and especially the great Sufferings of our dear Friends in *New-England*, *viz.* hard Imprisonments, cruel Whippings, cutting off Ears, Banishment if they returned into *New-England* any more; and I shewed him likewise, how they put to death *Marmaduke*

maduke Stephenſon, William Robinſon, William Leddra, and *Mary Dyer,* for no other Cauſe but labouring to turn People *from Darkneſs to Light,* and *from the Power of Satan to the living Power of God,* to his Light, Grace and holy Spirit in their Hearts, and labouring to bring the People from Perſecution, Pride, and every evil Work and Way, to live a Self-denying, humble Life; a Life agreeable to the *Chriſtianity* they profeſſed: This was the Purport or Subſtance of the Service they were called to, and ſo deeply ſuffered for: From whence I inferred, there was ſomewhat of the Spirit of God in Man in theſe Days as there was in *Daniel,* and many more formerly, which helped and bore them up in their great Sufferings. Now my Father confeſs'd, *it was true ſome ſuffer'd for Good, and ſome for Evil;* and withal ſaid, *he had now lived to the Age of about ſixty-five Years, and altho' he heard us telling of a Principle, or Light within, yet he knew not what it was.* I reply'd very meekly, *If he would hear me, I would tell him what it was;* which I did in the Words following: *When at any Time thou haſt been under a Temptation to put forth thy Hand to ſteal, or to lie for Advantage, or by Provocation to ſwear, or any evil Work or Word, haſt not thou found ſomething in thee, that hath ſhewed thee thou oughteſt not to have ſaid or done ſo, which if thou hadſt taken heed to, and not ſaid or done wrong, haſt thou not found great Peace and inward Comfort in thy Mind? But if thou haſt ſaid or done wrong, haſt not thou found great Diſquietneſs and Trouble of Mind? This is the inward Principle, Light, or Grace, that God hath placed in Man to help and direct him, which*

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we the People of God called Quakers, *do hold agreeable to the holy Scriptures.* My Father ſmote his Hands together, and confeſs'd *it was true.*

But that I was not willing to break in upon this Story, but keep it intire, there was one Thing worthy of Notice, which I now come to, wiſhing it may be duly conſidered by all who read or hear it: When I mentioned *Marmaduke Stephenſon*, that good Man and great Sufferer in the Cauſe of Chriſt, as before, my Mother ſaid, *it was true*; for ſhe lived a Servant with *Edward Wilberfoſs*, an honeſt *Quaker* in *Skipton*, where *Marmaduke Stephenſon* was a Day-labourer, about the Time he had his Call to go to *New-England.* *If I remember right, ſhe ſaid, *He was ſuch a Man as ſhe never knew, for his very Countenance was a Terror to them, and he had a great Check upon all the Family; if at any Time any of the Servants had been wild, or any way out of the Truth, if they did but ſee him, or hear him coming, they were ſtruck with Fear, and were all quiet and ſtill:* And if but one of the Children came into the Houſe where he laboured, and he would not have it to come, theſe were his Words, *Go thy way*, or *go Home leſt I whip thee*; and they were ſubject and quiet. This ample and excellent Account, I thought had ſome Reach upon my Father, however, it much affected my Mind. Oh! that we the Profeſſors of the ſame holy Truth, may ſo live in it, as to reign over every wrong Thing in ourſelves, and alſo in others, but eſpecially in our Children.

Some

* See the Account of NEW-ENGLAND judged not by Man as Man, but by the Spirit of the Living GOD, written by GEORGE BISHOP.

Some little Time before the Marriage of my Mother, I was brought into the publick Work of the Miniſtry, concerning which I had many Reaſonings, being young, ſcarce eighteen Years old, and naturally of a ſtammering Tongue, which I could not overcome, although I had uſed what Endeavours lay in my Power as a Man, conſidering my Years and Education, all would not do until the Truth helped me: But after many Conflicts, great Troubles and Temptations, the worſt I ever met with, and the moſt piercing Sorrow I ever had yet been in ſince I came to the Knowledge of the bleſſed Truth was, when through Reaſonings, Diſobedience, and Unwillingneſs to comply with, and anſwer the Lord's Requirings, he in Diſpleaſure took away from me the Comfort of his holy Preſence for ſeveral Months together. Oh! the Tribulations and penetrating Troubles I met withall in this Condition, no Tongue is able to expreſs, no nor the Heart of any finite Creature is able to conceive the Depth of the Anxiety of the Heart-piercing and wounding Sorrows I was in; I thought my State was as bad as *Jonah*'s, for ſurely if there be a Hell upon Earth, I was in it: What greater Hell can be here to a quickened Soul, and an enlightened Underſtanding, who hath taſted of the Goodneſs of God, and of the Powers, in a degree, of the World to come, than to be deprived thereof, and think they are fallen away from this State? I could ſcarcely believe I ſhould ever have Repentance granted to me, or be reſtor'd again into the Love and Favour of God, when I found *that River of Life dried up*, as to me, *which did before*,

not

not only *make me*, but *even all the whole City of God, truly glad:* But being left under an Apprehenſion of the Lord's Diſpleaſure, and in part a Partaker of the Terrors of his Wrath; Oh I thought, ſurely the very Mountains, and even the Hills were not ſufficient (if they could have been put into the Scales or Ballance) to have weighed againſt my Troubles and Afflictions they were ſo great; but as the Lord had by his Judgments brought me in a good degree from the Vice and Vanity of this World, now by his Judgments he made me willing to give up to anſwer his Requirings in part, and in my Obedience to him I began to feel ſome Comfort of Love and Fellowſhip of the Spirit of the Lord in myſelf, and in his People, who were brought to be Partakers of the like Fellowſhip.

Now I return to the Matter about my being turned out of my Father's Houſe, which I mentioned before, but was willing to keep this ſolemn Account entire, with Deſires it may be a Caution to all, in whom the Lord is at work in the ſame manner, not to reaſon or gainſay ſo much as I did, but to give up freely and cheerfully to the Will of God. When I ſaw I muſt turn out, I thought it expedient to acquaint ſome worthy Friends with it, leſt any undue Reflections ſhould be caſt upon the Truth, or Friends, or myſelf, that if ſo, theſe Friends might be able to contradict them; ſo I acquainted *Sebaſtian Ellethorp*, and that worthy Man and Miniſter of the Goſpel *Benjamin Padley*, two of the chief Friends in *Ellington* Monthly-meeting; and they came to my Father's Houſe, and when they came, they began

to enquire about the Reasons *why I went away?* and if my Father *had any Thing against me concerning the Business he employed me in?* and, *whether I was not faithful and diligent in all his Affairs he sent me about?* He confess'd, *I was*; *and thought none could exceed me.* They said, *Well then, what is the Reason of that Misunderstanding which is betwixt thee and thy Son-in-Law? Is it about going to Meetings?* When they understood his Reasons, which were not hard to do, they express'd a Pity towards me that I could have no more Liberty; and they thought, as I was so diligent in his Business, if he would give me a little more Liberty to go to Meetings, it would be more Encouragement to me. At which he took Offence, and gave the good Men rough Language, and asked, *What they had to do with him and his Son?* and bid them *go Home and Mind their own Business*; which they were much troubled at, especially for my Sake, and much pitied me, and wondered how I had lived with him so long; for he said in short, *that there was no Abiding for me there.* But *Sebastian Ellethorp* told me, which was mightily to my Comfort, that my Father had nothing against me, *save that concerning the Law of my God.* This is the Sense, if not the Words, of these wise and good Men, which passed betwixt them and my Father, as they expressed them to me; for I was not there when they were together.

Notwithstanding I pleaded with my Father to let me stay until I could hear of a Place, he would not though I was scarce fit for Service, being almost like an *Anatomy* (as the saying is) so that most who knew me,

me, said, *I would pine away in a Consumption*; but turn out I must, and did, though I was weak, poor and low in Body, Mind, Pocket and Cloaths; for I think I had but Twelve-pence in my Pocket, and very ordinary Cloaths upon my Back. Thus I took my solemn Leave of the Family, with my Heart full, but I kept inward to the Lord, and under Truth's Government; many Tears were shed in the Family, especially by my poor Mother, when I left them; my Father said little, but appear'd like one struck with Wonder, to see so much Love manifested towards me by the Family, and so much wishing that I might not go away: But out I came upon the great Common aforementioned, where I had many solitary Walks, but none like this, for this Reason, *that I knew not where to go.* I then thought of *Abraham* who was called out of *Ur* in the Land of the *Chaldeans*, as it is briefly mention'd by *Stephen*; but this was the Difference betwixt us, he was *called*, I was *forced out*. But as I was walking upon the Common, the Sense of my weak Condition, not knowing whither to go, nor where to lay my Head, although I had many Friends, yet I could not be free to go to them, unless I had known they had Business for me, being not of a forward, but rather backward and shy Disposition. I say, the Sense and Weight of my Condition came over me to that degree, that it appeared to me as though my Way was hedged up on every Side, inwardly and outwardly; I even thought myself like a Pelican in the Wilderness, or as an Owl in the Desart, there appearing to me scarce a Man in all the Earth in my Condition,

Condition, every way considered; and in the Sense and deep Consideration of my present Wilderness State, I felt myself under a great Oppression of Spirit, and my Heart seemed full, like a Bottle that wanted Vent: I looked round about me to see that none were near to see my Tears nor hear my Cries. and in the very Anguish and Bitterness of my Soul I poured forth my Complaints, Cries and Tears to the Judge of all the Earth, who spoke to me and comforted me in this my deplorable State, which was worse than *Jacob*'s when he lay upon the Ground, and had a Stone for his Pillow; he had his near Kindred to go to, whom he might expect would receive him gladly, but I had none to go to but such as rather reviled me, and gave me hard Language; but the Lord said unto me, as if a Man had spoke, *First seek the Kingdom of Heaven and the Righteousness thereof, and all these Things that thou standest in Need of shall be given unto thee.* I then desired he would please to shew me the Place I should go to; and the Lord opened my Way, and shew me the House I should go to, and abide in for a Time. I said, *Good is the Word of the Lord:* I believed, and it was a great Means to stay my Mind, and settle it in the Truth, with full purpose of Heart to follow the Lord, and obey his Requirings, according to the Knowledge and Ability given me; yet Reasonings attended me; two Things especially stood much in my Way, yea three Things were a Lett to me, for soon after I came to the Friend's House in *South-Cliff*, viz. *William Allen* by Name, I bound myself to him to learn his Trade of a *Weaver*, and after I

was

was bound, I found this good Man loved me, and I loved him to the Day of his Death; and he often ſaid, *he was bleſſed for my Sake, and all that appertained unto him*; for when I went to him he was very poor, but he increaſed very conſiderably after I went to live with him.

I come now to the Particulars which ſtood in my Way of anſwering the Lord's Commands ſo fully as ſometimes I ſhould have done; *Firſt*, a *violent Humour* fell into one of my Legs ſoon after I was bound Apprentice, which I with others thought was much occaſioned by hard Uſage, Heats and Colds, and many Surfeits, even from my Infancy; which Lameneſs held me about two Years, and I ſuffered much by the ſaid Leg, and it much diſcouraged and diſabled me. The *ſecond* Hinderance was, *my low Circumſtances in the World*, which very few knew of, becauſe the common Fame was (and not without ſome Truth) That I had rich Parents. I have given an Account already how they were circumſtanced, and ſo I leave them at preſent and proceed; but few knew the Straits I met withal; yet my truly religious Maſter, if he underſtood any Thing was upon my Mind to go to viſit any Meeting, or Meetings, he would ſay, *take my Mare and go thy way, and be not uneaſy, neither about the Mare nor Buſineſs, nor do not haſten thyſelf.* Theſe Kindneſſes made me often thoughtful how I might return ſuitable Acknowledgments, and be duly grateful for the ſame: I was diligent in my Maſter's Buſineſs, not ſerving him with Eye-ſervice, but faithfully; believing it good and acceptable in the Sight of God, and I had

great

great Peace in it; my Master never found Fault with me for doing too little, but often for doing too much, and would sometimes say, *I think thou wilt cleave to the Beam; come off and let us walk into the Fields and see how Things are there.* Now as to the *third* Hinderance, the Account of which I was not willing to have interwoven with Matters of less Moment, although the healing of my very sore Leg I attribute to the great and good Providence of God; for in a short Time after I gave up freely and cheerfully to answer the Lord's Requirings, the Lord healed me of my Lameness; and when I cried unto him, that he would also heal my Tongue of its Stammering, believing that the Lord was as able to take away the Impediment of my Tongue, as he was to stop the Violence of that Humour which had attended my Body, and had a Recourse to my Leg, and made it sore from above the Ancle to the Knee: And notwithstanding several Men had given their Advice, and had shewed their Skill, it all proved ineffectual, until I came to believe in Jesus Christ, and to press through all to him, and to touch the Skirt, or lowest Appearance of his blessed Truth and Power, in which I found true healing Virtue to my Soul, and also to my Body, and to my Tongue, even to my Admiration; so that I did not only speak plain in the Testimony the Lord gave me to bear, but also spoke plain in my common Intercourse with Men.

I was likewise in these Days under the Dispensations of Openings and Visions, and thought myself as it were upon *Mount-Pisgah*, and saw into the holy Land,

Land, and into Things relating to God and his heavenly Kingdom, and into his Work and Way of bringing Man out of the Fall and Alienation to himself again, and into a heavenly State in Christ, as Man yields true Obedience unto the Leadings and Operation of his blessed Grace and holy Spirit in the Heart. But under such Dispensations it is requisite, yea, of absolute Necessity, that Man be brought into true Self-denial, as also into a depending Frame of Mind, and true Resignation of Will to the Will of God, and a daily sitting as in the Dust, as to the Motions, and the Workings of the Creature as such; for all that is of Man's working, or Work does but let or hinder the spiritual Work of God in the Heart; and we must come truly to know all fleshly Motions, and the Workings in Man's own Will and Spirit, to be silenced, to hear the Voice of God, which is a still small Voice, and not to be heard in the Noise and Hurries of the World; neither when the Mind is busied with Things agreeable to our own corrupt Wills and depraved Nature.

But although at Times I had clear Sights into many heavenly Things, and also had at times comfortable Enjoyments of the living Presence of God, yet I wanted to be more established in the unchangeable Truth, which I had at times some comfortable feeling of; and in crying to the Lord, I found he inclined unto me, and, as *David* said, *he heard my Cries, and pluckt my Feet out of the Mire and Clay, and set them upon a Rock*, that was higher than I, and in part *established my Goings, and put a new Song into my Mouth, even high Praises unto the Lord for all his tender*

tender Mercies to me in these trying Times; and now being more crucified to the World, and the Spirit of it, I witnessed a more constant Indwelling of the heavenly Power and living Presence, Light and Grace, I came to be brought into Stilness, and it became most agreeable to my Condition to keep much in Silence, and wait upon the Lord for the Renewing of Strength, that thereby I might surmount all Temptations and Trials that might fall in my way, or which I might be tried with, which were not a few.

Now these Things, before recited, are worthy of Commemoration, and proved great Confirmations to me in the Truth, in these Days of my Tribulations and great Trials: Read and believe thou that can'st, for they are faithful and true sayings. After the Lord had healed me, he sent me forth in the Work of the Ministry, and the first Journey I took Southward was into *Lincolnshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and through *Coventry*, and so to *Warwick* to see *William Dewsberry*. One Thing is remarkable upon *William*'s Enquiry, *what Way I came?* In my Account of the particular Towns and Places I had passed through, I mentioned *Coventry*, which was the last and the worst; for some of the rude People flung Stones at me, as I was speaking in the Meeting, with great Violence, so that had the Lord suffered them to have hit me, they must have spoiled me; but my Faith in the Lord, and the Strength of the Truth, bore up my Mind above Fear of the outward Man, or what wicked Men could do to me. After *William* had heard my Account, he fixed his

Eyes

Eyes on me and said, *Thou must go back again to* Coventry. I appeared unwilling, for two Reasons; *first*, because I thought I had cleared myself of that People. *Secondly*, I thought it not safe to run myself into Danger of Suffering, unless, I was satisfied the Lord required it of me. But *William* was positive, and said *I must go, for there was a Service for me to do there.* Upon a deliberate Consideration of the Matter, and a seeking to the Lord to know his Will in it, I found my Way clear to go, and I had some Service and good Satisfaction, and left Friends nearer to one another than when I first met with them; for there had been a Misunderstanding amongst some Friends in that City: So I came from thence to *Tamworth*, where there was a Difference, especially betwixt two Friends; both of them had been such as had made some considerable Figure among Friends: I felt it upon me to go to the Man, to warn him of the Spirit of Prejudice and Envy, for if he gave Way to it, it would eat out his Love to Friends and Truth, and he would decline Meetings and come to nought, and turn his Back on the Truth; which came to be fulfilled, as I afterwards heard; for he became a loose Man, and listed himself to be a Soldier. I was zealous for the Name of the Lord, and had a great Concern upon my Mind for the Promulgation of the Truth, and where I met with loose Professors of the Truth, it was a great Exercise to me.

When I returned home from this, and indeed from all my Journeys, I took Care what I well could, so far as my weak Body was capable, to fall into

Buſineſs, and not to loiter away my Time, neither abroad nor at home. My weak Conſtitution would not well bear the *Weaving-trade*, therefore I left it much againſt my Will; but I wrought upon Clock and Watch-work, and many other Things, which ſupplied my Neceſſities, the Lord allowing me as much Time at home as put me in a Condition reaſonably fit for Travel, and then I was inclin'd to go to viſit Friends. Many Things I omit, becauſe I am not willing to ſwell my Account too much. I travelled through moſt Parts of *England* four Times, and twice through moſt Parts of *Wales*, between the twentieth and twenty eighth Year of my Age.

After the Lord had opened my Heart, and I came in part to underſtand the holy Scriptures, and to have a Feeling of that holy Spirit in which the holy Penmen wrote them, and a Sympathy with the Spirits and Exerciſes of the Righteous therein mentioned, I took great Delight in reading them, and having a good Memory, could thereby the better deal with Prieſts and with Profeſſors. I had many Diſputes and Reaſonings with Prieſts and Profeſſors, of ſeveral Denominations, both in *Yorkſhire* and other Parts in my Travels, ſo that through theſe Diſputes, and much Reading, my Mind was rather too much in the *Letter*, and not altogether ſo much in *Spirit*, and in *Power*, as it ſhould have been; for which I met with a gentle Caution from the Lord, which was thus: I heard a Voice (from the Lord) as plain as if one had ſpoke to my outward Ear, *The Fowls of the Air lodge in the Branches.* This being repeated to me, I beſought the Lord to ſhew me what

was the Meaning of that Voice which I heard; and the Lord, the mighty God, ſhewed me in his condeſcending Love, that the *Scriptures*, even all of them which were written as the holy Men were moved of the holy Ghoſt, ſprung from the *living Root*; yet thoſe who reſted only in the *Letter*, and came not to be acquainted with, and live in, and miniſter from the ſame *holy Spirit*, are outward, dead, dry, airy and fooliſh. This gentle Check was of great Service to me; not ſo as to make me decline reading the Scriptures, but that I ſhould not have over much Dependency on them; and to caution me againſt the Neglect of waiting for the Help of the holy Spirit, the Root and pure Spring of the right and living Miniſtry which reaches the Heart, and carries the true Evidence with it to the Believers, that *it is of God*; which that of the Letter cannot do of itſelf. I tenderly deſire that all concerned in this great Work of the Miniſtry, may not be Miniſters of the Letter *only*, but of the Spirit alſo, and may ſpeak in the Demonſtration of the Spirit and of Power. And *let him that ſpeaketh, ſpeak as the Oracle of God, and he that miniſtreth, do it as of the Ability that God giveth.* This is the laſt and laſting Miniſtry, which is after the Order of *Melchiſedeck*, and not after the Order of *Aaron*, but in Jeſus Chriſt the High-Prieſt, the one Offering, which makes perfect for ever all who come to him through the Drawings of the Father; he is the *one Lord*, and there is but *one true Faith* in him, and but *one true* and *ſaving Baptiſm* into him, or into the Likeneſs of his Death; ſo *as Chriſt died for Sin*, we may truly

die

die to Sin ; and *as he was raiſed by the Glory of the Father*, ſo we may walk in *Newneſs of Life* ; the heavenly High-Prieſt, holy, harmleſs, ſeparate from Sinners ; and ſuch a High-Prieſt who was tempted, and knows how to ſuccour ſuch as are tempted ; he is the *Advocate* with the Father, the *Propitiation* for the Sins of all, the true *Guide* and *Comforter*, the *Leader* of them into all Truth, who obey and follow him ; although to the World a *Reprover* and a *ſwift Witneſs* againſt all Ungodlineſs and Unrighteouſneſs of Men.

My writing thus, from this gentle Check, concerning the *Fowls* and the *Branches*, &c. is not with the leaſt Intention either to leſſen the holy Scriptures, or diſcourage any from reading them ; for I would have all true Chriſtians encouraged to be more converſant in them ; yet with this Advice, *kind Reader*, from thy Well-wiſher and true Friend, to breath to, and truly ſeek after the Lord for a Meaſure of his holy and bleſſed Spirit, the only Key and beſt Expoſitor to open and truly expound them to thee, as by the ſame holy Spirit thy Mind and Underſtanding comes to be fitted and enlightened ; and indeed the whole Veſſel muſt be brought into a Preparation to hold the heavenly Treaſure, and not to mix the pure with the corrupt and impure : For without this enlightning, preparing, opening, and ſanctifying Gift of God's holy Grace and Spirit, Man can neither know the heavenly Power of God, nor yet the holy Scriptures aright, as he ought to know them ; and for this Reaſon it hath ſeemed good to God to hide theſe Things from the Learned, Wiſe and Prudent

of

of this World, that they ſhould not pry into, nor find out the Myſteries contained therein, unleſs they are ſanctified, and called of God thereto; and *as no Man knows the Things of a Man, ſave the Spirit of a Man that is in him*; likewiſe *the Things of God* are not perceivable by Man, without the Help of the holy Spirit of God in Man.

Thus the Lord opened to me the true Meaning of the Parable of the *Muſtard-ſeed*, in this the Time of my Infancy as to the Miniſtry, with which he ſent me forth into the World, that my Faith might ſtand in the Lord alone, the Author and Finiſher, as well as Giver of the true and ſaving Faith, even *that Faith which works by Love*, and *gives Victory over the World*; it was by and through the Power, Virtue and Efficacy of true Faith, *which is the Gift of God*, that the Elders in former Ages obtained, and now do obtain a good Report; it was in and through this Gift, that worthy *Abel* with his Offering was accepted of God, although he was envied of his earthly and evil minded Brother *Cain*, and alſo by him ſlain. The ever memorable *Enoch*, through the Virtue of this holy Gift, walked with God, as himſelf gave witneſs that *Enoch* pleaſed him; he walked ſo in Faith and Obedience even to the End, that he died not as Men in common do, but was tranſlated or changed in a peculiar Manner. Come, read thou that canſt, and underſtand thou that art redeemed out of (and haſt overcome) the Fleſh, and the Powers of the firſt Nature, the World and the Devil, in a great meaſure, for thou knoweſt that it is by the Operation of this Gift that the Dead in old *Adam* are

raiſed

railed to a new Life, and way of living in the new Man; and through this heavenly *Adam*, that is known to these to be a quickning Spirit, agreeable to holy Writ. Through Faith the Violence of Fire was quench'd, the Mouths of Lions have been stopped, the Sword turned backward, the Armies put to flight, even such as were Aliens or Strangers who outwardly fought against the Lord's People; which sets before us, as in a Glass, how and what we are to overcome in this Gospel-day, in which we are not to fight with Men, but with our Lusts, and overcome Sin and Satan; which is as great a Victory as he obtain'd that overcame the rampant Lions,* who had Dominion over the wicked, as Sin and Satan have Power and Dominion over the Wicked and Ungodly to this Day. Consider now in Time, thou that readest these Lines, whether Christ or Antichrist doth most predominate in thee? Whether Grace or Sin most abound in thy mortal Body? Whether the Spirit of Truth, that leads into all Truth, or the Spirit of Error, that leads into all Error and Untruth, is the most prevalent, and hath the greatest Place in thy Heart? For to him whom thou art the most subject, and yields thy Members Servants to, his Servant thou art, and to him thou givest way and subjects thyself, and his Servant thou wilt altogether come to be in time, and the Wages due to his Servants thou shalt have given to thee at the End of thy Work: Therefore consider in due Time, while the Day of thy Visitation is continued unto thee, and the Lord is following and calling by his secret and inward Checks and Reproof, by which he disquiets

* Daniel vi. v, 24.

quiets thy Mind, that although thou mayeſt take ſome Pleaſure in Vanity and wrong Ways, when thou canſt get over the juſt Witneſs of God in thy own Soul, yet while it ſtrives with thee to convert and gather thee up out of earthly and fading Pleaſures, to have thy Mind ſet upon heavenly Things, and take Pleaſure in them, thou wilt have no ſolid Comfort in all thy lower Enjoyments, but Condemnation and Anguiſh of Soul will attend thee, until thou either gets over the Witneſs, or leaves the Evil, is the Experience of the Lord's People, who have been acquainted with the true and inward Warfare, and alſo with the Saints Victory. Read and learn to follow Chriſt *by the Footſteps of the Flocks of his Companions*; altho' it be through great Tribulations, yet it is the Way to have *thy Garments waſhed and made white in the* myſtical *Blood of the immaculate Lamb of God: This is he*, as *John* the *Baptiſt* ſaid, *that taketh away the Sins of the World.* Happy is every one that truly putteth on his Lamb-like Nature, his Humility, Righteouſneſs and Purity, and is covered with his holy Spirit, and lives and walks in and under the Influence and Conduct thereof to the End of Time here, until we enter into Immutability.

Now to return from this Digreſſion to the hiſtorical Part. When I had travelled much of the Time between my going forth, which was from about the nineteenth Year of my Age unto about the twenty ſeventh, then finding ſome little Reſpite from the Weight of that Service, I inclined to ſettle a little cloſer to Buſineſs but had little to begin any Calling with, being neceſſiated to leave my Trade of *Weaving*

ing through Lameneſs, as before mentioned; and I had been a Sojourner ſome time at *Whitby*, *Scarborough*, and *Bridlington*; but upon ſeeking unto the Lord to know what Place I might now ſettle in, though my great Inclination was for *Whitby*, yet it ſounded as in my Ear, *Bridlington*, *Bridlington is the Place to ſettle in*; and in the Croſs I repaired thither, and ſettled for ſome time, keeping a little Shop, and mended Clocks and Watches, as I had done for ſeveral Years paſt at times; it was of good Service my ſettling there, for the Lord began to work mightily, eſpecially among the young Friends, ſo that in a few Years many had their Mouths opened in Teſtimony for the Lord, and a fine Spring of heavenly Miniſtry was in that Monthly-Meeting, the like I have not known in the like Bounds, (for it is but a ſmall Monthly-meeting and hath been ſo ever ſince I knew it.) For Truth did ſo mightily proſper, and Friends grew ſo in the Miniſtry, that it became a Proverb, that BRIDLINGTON *was become a School of Prophets*. This mighty Work of the Lord, in theſe Days, is worthy to be chronicled and remembred among his many worthy and noble Acts; we had many heavenly and good Meetings, praiſed and renowned be the worthy Name of the Lord, now and for ever.

We had but little *Diſcipline* when I firſt ſeetled in that Place, but afterwards many Friends Hearts were ſtirred up in a holy Zeal for the Lord, not only to promote Meetings for Worſhip, but alſo for good Diſcipline in the Church, and they began to ſee a Neceſſity of coming up more in the Practice of this very

very needful Work ; although there were ſome that ſaid, *they could ſee no Need of ſuch cloſe Order and Diſcipline :* Yet I found it to be my Way in the Truth to bear with ſuch, if they were not irregular in their Converſations ; but if they were diſorderly, we dealt with them as the Lord opened our Way in the Wiſdom of Truth ; and thus bearing with the *Eaſineſs* of ſome on the one hand, and encouraging the faithful and zealous on the other, until way was made, beyond my Expectation, for the ſpreading of the Truth, its Teſtimony, and the Diſcipline thereof in thoſe Parts.

I had now travelled and laboured much in the Lord's Work at home and abroad for about ten Years, but had not in all that Time found my way clear to *marry*, although not without ſome likely Opportunities, and with ſuch as were a great deal richer than ſhe was whom I did marry ; but I was afraid in this weighty Affair to miſs my Way, knowing the great Difference there is between them who only profeſs, and they who poſſeſs the Truth, and them that are only in the firſt Nature and unregenerated State, (and ſtrictly ſpeaking, *but the Sons and Daughters of Men*) and ſuch who are born again ; not of Fleſh and Blood, nor indeed of any thing that is corruptible, but of that incorruptible Seed and living Word of God which leads into lively Hope, and brings forth a new and heavenly Birth in Man, that takes delight to pleaſe and obey the Lord in all Things, and ſo become *Sons*, or *Children of God*, in a more ſpiritual and nearer Relation than that of Creation only ; it is in and through this great Work

of Renovation, and being born again, that ſuch live up to that holy Seed and regenerating Principle: And as the ſame doth predominate and rule in Man, in this State *Man cannot Sin*, as the Apoſtle ſaid, with this Reaſon annexed, *becauſe his Seed* (*to wit*, the Seed of God) *remaineth in him*: Thus walking in the light, and living in the Seed, Grace and holy Spirit, although the Terms of it differ, the Virtue and Nature of it are undividable; ſuch who come to be gathered to walk with, and truly love Chriſt the Bridegroom of the Soul, are brought into a greater Nearneſs, truer Sympathy and Unity of Spirit than the World knows of. Read this, you that are born again, and duly conſider it in its proper Time and Place. I believe, and therefore truly ſpeak it, the Lord gave me ſuch a Wife as really feared him, loved Truth and Righteouſneſs, and all ſuch as ſhe thought loved, and eſpecially ſuch as lived in the Truth; her Name was *Priſcilla Cannaby*, Daughter of *James Cannaby*; ſhe was deſcended of an honeſt Family in the Eaſt Part of *Yorkſhire*, the only Child her Parents left, they were *Bakers* by Trade, and gave her a commendable Education, though they did not leave her any great Portion; ſhe was under the Care of her Uncle *Charles Cannaby* of *Bridlington*, an honeſt Friend, who left ſomething behind him in Manuſcript concerning his Convincement of the Truth, and Sufferings for the ſame; he was convinced early, lived to a great Age, and was a Man of great Service in thoſe Parts where he lived.

I was in the twenty eighth Year of my Age when

when I married my Wife, who was a Woman of an excellent Temper, very affectionate, ſober and prudent, loved Retirement much, and waiting upon the Lord, and the Enjoyment of his internal and living Preſence, and eſpecially with the Lord's People, that they might alſo be made Partakers with her of the like ſpecial Favours; this was her Crown and Kingdom while in this World, even from her Childhood; and to ſee Friends proſper in the Truth was Matter of great Rejoicing to her. When we had been married ſcarce three Years, the Lord raiſed her up to bear a publick Teſtimony amongſt Friends in their Meetings, which was very comfortable and acceptable to them; and alſo ſhe had the Spirit of Grace and Supplication, meaſurably poured upon her, ſo that many with me did believe ſhe had Acceſs to the *Throne of God*, and to that *River which maketh truly glad the City of God:* She always freely gave me up to anſwer the Service I believed the Lord called for of me. She was taken from me when we had been married but about five Years, in the twenty eighth Year of her Age, and died in a ſweet Frame of Mind, and was ſenſible to the laſt, and her laſt Words were, *He is come, he is come, whom my Soul loves, and my Soul rejoices in God my Saviour, and my Spirit magnifies him*; and ſo paſſed away like a Lamb, I believe into a Manſion of Glory, where her innocent Soul will for ever ſing Hallelujah to the Lord God and the Lamb, who is worthy of Glory, Honour, Salvation and Strength, now and for ever.

I might enlarge much upon the Virtue and Worthineſs of faithful *Priſcilla*, but in this, as in other Matters,

Matters, it is my Desire to avoid Prolixity, yet would take Notice of the most remarkable Occurrences that have happened to me in the Course of this my earthly Pilgrimage; also, I have been much press'd by some, and not of the least of my faithful Brethren: Likewise, I believed it to be my Duty, to leave some Remains to Posterity for their Encouragement and Comfort in the Way and Work of the Lord. One Thing is worthy here to be inserted, which had a strange and astonishing Effect upon my Mind, which was thus:

As I was walking in a plain Field in the fore Part of the Day, not far from the Sea, betwixt *Bridlington* and *Broynton*, my Soul was in a deep Concern, and at that Time exercised in Meditation on the Things of God, and also in fervent Prayers to him for Preservation from every hurtful Thing; and a heavenly Frame my Mind was then brought into, for then I neither saw Cloud over my Mind, nor yet any in the Firmament, for it appeared to me a *Morning without Clouds*; tho' I had passed under many Clouds. Soon after my Mind was brought into this heavenly Frame, and as it were swallowed up in the heavenly and internal Presence of the Lord, I thought a *bright Cloud* came down and cover'd me, or caught me up into it; so whether I was standing, walking, or set upon the Ground, or carried up into the Cloud in the Body, or out of the Body, I know not to this Day; yet Fear and Reverence, with bowing of my Soul, did possess me before the great Majesty; at the Glory of whose Countenance, as I had it in a preceding Vision, Men and Angels fled

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and gave way, and could not ſtedfaſtly behold the Brightneſs and Glory of the Countenance of the Son of the Higheſt, with the mighty God and Father, which are in one in Power, Greatneſs, Goodneſs, and Glory, who was *before all Things*, made *all Things*, and upholds and fills all Things that are good, with that which is truly good, or at leaſt is for a good End. Read this Myſtery thou that canſt, and learn to fear him *that hath Power over both Soul and Body, to kill and to caſt into Hell*, for one Time or another he will make thee fear him, when he brings thy Sins to Judgment, whether it be now or hereafter: The Time hath been, is, or will be, in which the Lord, the Judge of both Quick and Dead, hath, doth, or will plead with thee, and all Fleſh, *as in the Vally of* Jehoſaphat; therefore beware leſt thou make him wroth, as he was upon Mount *Perizim*, but be thou ſubject to the Lord, as faithful *Moſes* was upon Mount *Horeb*, or the *Mount of God*, when he obeyed his Voice, and put off his Shoes; do thou obey, if it be to the putting away of the Glory and Wiſdom of *Egypt*, or *Learning*, or what elſe is required of thee: Oh then thou art in the way to further Service, and wilt be enabled, as thou continues faithful, to go through all to God's Glory, and thy unſpeakable Peace in the End.

Now as to the laſt Part of the Rapture or Viſion, when I was ſwallowed up in the *luminous Preſence* of him that is *firſt* and *laſt*, the *Alpha* and *Omega*, I heard a Voice, very intelligible to that Senſation I had then given me, ſaying, *Doſt thou ſee how Pride and Wickedneſs abound in the Nation?* I anſwered in much

much Fear, *Lord do I see it:* The next Words which I heard in the Voice and in the Cloud were, *The People are too many, I will thin them, I will thin them, I will thin them.* I desired of the Lord to shew me, whether it was his Mind I should publish this in any Part of the Nation? The *South* was set before me, with this Caution, *Where this is opened to thee in my Power, there speak of it,* and *not otherwise.* I gave up to answer the heavenly Vision, and visited most Parts of the southern Counties, as also the northern Parts, and *Scotland*; and where the Lord opened my Mouth to speak of what I had heard, as before, by way of Prophecy, I gave up, but did not so much insist upon that Matter, as to suffer it to be a Means to mislead me from that Work of the Ministry I was chiefly concered in, I would that all, who are concerned in the like manner may be cautious in this great Affair, and look well to the Rise and Original from whence they receive this Gift, and how; and also what Frame of Mind they are in, and that nothing of the Warmth of their own Spirits be set to Work or stirred up, either by Sight of the Eye, or hearing, or reading outwardly, but that the Mind may be redeemed from all Workings, from these and the like Grounds, and purely purged, and truly adapted or fitted to receive this Gift or Spirit of Prophecy; and also be sure to be very careful to be guidable in the Gift, or otherwise thou mayst miss, as to *Time* and *Place*, &c. I intend not to dwell long upon it, as there are other Services included in this of Prophecy, as *Edification* and *Comfort*, &c. but what I have been upon, relates to *foretelling something*

ſomething that is to come; and, as once a worthy Elder ſaid to me when I was young in the Miniſtry, *It is a great Thing to know what, where and when*; and I have ever found it true to this Day. Learn of him that is (as he always was) meek and low of Heart, and be not diſcouraged, but perſevere in Faith and Sincerity, and look not overmuch at the Difficulty, but look over all to him who hath called thee, and in ſome meaſure revealed his Son through the Spirit in thee: Although I know from ſome Experience, what it is to be exerciſed in the matter of Prophecy, for in the Journey touched of before, I was concerned to tell Friends at *Kilmouck* in *Scotland* eſpecially, *that the Lord would take many of them away*; which in a ſhort Time came to paſs, for many died before that Time Twelve-month, it being a Time of Scarcity of Corn; and it was thought many died for want of Bread, the Year enſuing my being there: I had good Service for the Lord, and great Satisfaction in theſe my long Travels, as I had in the like before, in divers of which there were ſome convinced of Truth.

At *Cromer* in *Norfolk*, one *Elizabeth Horry*, when my Mouth was opened, deſpiſed my Youth, as ſhe confeſs'd afterwards; but what I had to ſay ſo reached her Condition, that ſhe ſhed many Tears upon her fine Silks, and confeſs'd, before the Meeting broke up, that all might hear, in theſe Words, *All that ever I have done hath been told me this Day, and this is the everlaſting Truth.* And as I paſſed along from that Meeting, not far from *Cromer*, with ſome other Friends, it roſe in my Heart to ſay aloud, that

a Man who was watering his Horſe might hear, looking, and pointing my Hand towards him, *That Man will be a Friend before he die*; and, as he own'd after, he was ſo ſtruck with it, that he had no Reſt till he came among Friends, though he was then afar off, but he came to be a ſerviceable Man among us, and his Wife was alſo convinced of the Truth, and was a ſerviceable Woman. *Samuel Hunt* of *Nottingham*, was firſt reached at *Leiceſter* by the Teſtimony I had given me to bear in that Meeting at that Time, as he acknowledged afterwards; but I always gave God the Glory, and laid the Creature as in the Duſt, that Man, as Man, might not be too much accounted of.

After my being caught up, and hearing the Voice (as before mention'd) I had many deep and heavenly Openings, ſome of which it may not be amiſs to mention here, inaſmuch as I had now a more clear Sight into a *tranſlated State* than even I had before; I came thro' a divine Senſe and Participation, to have great Sympathy and dear Unity, not only with the ever memorable *Enoch*, whoſe walking was ſuch as the Lord gave Teſtimony or Witneſs to, that *he pleaſed him*; the Ground of which Witneſs was from hence, *he lived near and loved God*, and *walked in the Ways of Virtue*, and *abhorred Vice*: But alſo with the Apoſtle, having this Seal, *that God knoweth who are his*; and with ſome other of the Servants of Chriſt in former Ages who could ſay, as ſome now can ſay, (from true Experience) *that the Spirit of the Lord beareth Witneſs with our Spirits, that we are his*, to wit, *the Lord's Children, ſo long as we do well*; which

which last Words are of large Extent, *to do well, think well, speak well*, and *believe well*; for he that hath no Faith, or that believes ill, cannot do well, he that eats, drinks, or wears that which he knows he ought not, doth not well; but what is done well, is done in a pure Mind and clean Conscience, for so is true Faith held; and all acceptable Work to God performed. I had great openings into the Removal of *Moses*, and taking up of *Elijah*, that great and worthy Prophet, from the Earth into Heaven, and I have seen Things not fit to be uttered, neither can the World yet believe them; and I saw far into the Mystery of the *Transfiguration of Christ*, and Appearance of *Moses* and *Elias* with him upon the Mount; and the Voice which was heard from the excellent Glory, *This is my beloved Son, hear him*; not *Moses* nor *Elias* in Comparison of him, for the Law pointed to him, and was as a School-master to bring to him. The holy Prophets foresaw, and prophesied of his Coming, and *John* the Baptist saw Christ, and baptized him, and bore Witness of him as the Light, and said, *Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the Sins of the World*; he also said, *He is the Bridegroom that hath the Bride* (the Church; he spoke of his own Decrease, and Unworthiness in comparison of Christ; though called by Christ himself, *as great a Prophet as was ever born of a Woman*, and he was also called *Elias*, which must first come, and is already come in respect of Power, Knowledge, Boldness and Faithfulness; he was as *Elias*, yet *the least in the Kingdom of Christ was greater than he*, because the Power and glorious

Kingdom and Gospel-dispensation was not fully brought in (and restored to *Israel*, or those who should believe in him) until his *Ascension*; but now these great Agents in these foregoing Dispensations all passed away, with their figurative, prophetical and elementary Dispensations, and gave place to the Son and Heir of all Things, the *Messiah*, the *great Prophet*, *Bishop*, *Shepherd*, *King* and *Lawgiver*.

Now read these Things, and learn truly to understand how *Moses* past away, and *Elias* past away, and *Christ* is left, who is able alone to perfect the Work of Man's Redemption, *who trod the Wine-press alone*, and amongst all the Sons of Men, none were with him or helped him; he came who was the *Anti-type* of all Types gone before: He, *Christ*, is come to remove the *Covenant* made before, because of the Weakness and Imperfection thereof, which Covenant *made not the Comers thereto perfect*, but *the better Hope brought in by* Christ, *did*; so this Covenant is abundantly more excellent which was brought in by Christ, and settled and established upon better Promises than that was or could be, *by the Blood of Bulls, Goats, and the Ashes of an Heifer*, which reached the outside only; but in the second or new Covenant *is the Blood which sprinkleth the Heart from an evil Conscience*, so that such may be fitted and qualified to serve the living God, *not in the Works of the old Covenant, but in the Newness of the holy Spirit*: This is he that, as to his Divinity and Eternity, was *before the Hills were settled*, and *the Seas and Fountains were made*, that *took delight to dwell with the Sons of Men*, or *in the habitable Parts of the Earth*; as he was a Spirit

Spirit or Word uncreated, he dwelt measurably in *Abel*, *Seth*, *Enoch*, and *Noah* before the Flood; for by his Spirit God strove with the old World to reclaim them from their Wickedness, when it was great; it was by this Spirit *Noah* was made *a Preacher of Righteousness*, and instructed how to build the Ark; this is he who was with *Shem* and *Japheth*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*, and all the faithful Fathers after the Flood, the *Foundation* of all the Righteous, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, such as loved and believed in him, and suffered for his Name's sake, and the Testimony which they held: This is he that *despised the Glory of this World*, and is *lifted up a Standard to the People*, *and an Ensign to the Nations*; *unto him shall the* Gentiles *seek*, and *his Rest shall be glorious*; he hath lifted up a greater Rod than that of *Moses*, sometimes called the *Rod of Iron*, by which he hath, and I believe will break to pieces many People as a *Potters Vessel*, when the Sin and Iniquity of the People is come to the height; it was he that *turned the Waters of* Egypt *into Blood*; it was he that *slew the First-born throughout all the Land of* Egypt, he *overthrew the* Egyptians, and *brought forth* Israel *by a strong Hand*, *and an Arm outstretched*. After he had marked the Dwellings of his People, and spared them in the Time of this great Slaughter, which was executed both upon Man and Beast, *to wit*, the *First-born* in *Egypt*, then he became *Israel's* Passover. Read these Things (that were typically done, and in an outward way) inwardly, and in thine own Experience, that thou may'st say, and that truly, *Christ is*

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my Paſſover, after he hath mitigated thy ſore Bondage, and in degree hath given thee Faith in his great Name, and hath cauſed thee to love him, and made thee willing to follow him, although it be through the Sea of Troubles, and ſometimes as through the Wilderneſs. Here is an eating of the *heavenly Paſſover*, or *Paſchal Lamb*, under the Influence of the pure Love of God, that is ſpread or diſplayed over the Soul like a Canopy, or Banner: Here is the *heavenly Manna*, the true Body to feed on, that yields true Nouriſhment and ſolid Comfort to thy Soul, in this thy Travel towards the heavenly Country: Here is the Subſtance of the *Scape-Goat* known, that *beareth away the Sins of the People*; for *he bore our Iniquities, and through his Stripes were we healed*; on his Part there wants Nothing, but on Man's Faith in, and Obedience to Chriſt: He is the Subſtance or *Antitype* of the *brazen Serpent*, which was lifted up in the Wilderneſs to cure the Peoples Ailments, occaſioned by the Serpents; he is the *Advocate with the Father*, as *John* ſaid, to encourage little Children in that Time, which I think may very well be applied to all in that State until Time here ſhall be no more. Happy is every one that heareth, obeyeth, and reverenceth the Son and Heir of all Things in his ſpiritual Appearance in the Heart; where he ſpeaks to the Conditions of the Children of Men, *as never Man ſpoke* and to much better Purpoſe than ever Man could do: This is he *that ſpake to the Fathers by the Prophets who, in theſe Times doth ſpeak to us in or by his Son*; ſo take heed to his ſpiritual Appearance in the Heart, for there

must the Work of our Salvation be perfected, after Sin is purged out, and the Guilt thereof taken away; to such Death is easy, where Sin, the Sting of Death, is taken away, having a part *in Christ, the First-born of many Brethren*, and *Resurrection from the Dead*; I say, having a Part in him *that is the Resurrection* indeed, and *the Life*; *over such the second Death* (which is a perpetual Separation from the heavenly Presence of God, and Company of holy Angels) *shall have no Power*. I now leave, I think, this not unprofitable Digression, and return to the more historical Part, where one Thing, I think, is worthy of inserting here, *viz.*

In my young Years I was very much afflicted in my Travels, upon taking Cold, with a *sore Throat*, that I could scarce speak so as to be heard, and had much Trouble at Times to swallow any thing which Nature did require; and in one Journey northward, in Truth's Service, coming to *Hawkshead*, and sitting in the Meeting under no small Exercise with the Trouble aforesaid, not without some Reasonings and Conflicts of Spirit, having left all, as I believed, to do what the Lord required of me, and yet I apprehended myself, by means of this Affliction, not likely to be of any Service; and after some Reasonings, and a fervent seeking to the Lord to know the Cause of this great Trouble, and withal to bring my Mind to a true Resignation to the Will of God in this, and in all the Trials the Lord might see good in his Wisdom to exercise me in; I had not been long brought into this devoted and resigned State to be and do what the Lord would have me do, but oh! I felt of the Virtue of Christ as a sweet and living Spring, by which I was *healed*: I was, and

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am to this Day (when I remember the Lord's kind Dealings with me) very thankful to him.

It has been frequently obſervable, that the Lord leads his Servants through many States, that they, having the Experience thereof, may be the more capable of helping others in the like Straits; it is an excellent Thing to love and truly believe in Jeſus Chriſt and keep *Self* down as in the Duſt for ever.

An ACCOUNT *of my* firſt Viſit *to* FRIENDS *in* America.

NOW the Time came on for my going into *America*, having had a ſight of it about ten Years before; I alſo acquainted my Wife therewith about a Year before ſhe died, and I found it was likely to be a very near trial to her; ſhe was a virtuous, good Woman, but was taken away, and left me three Children, the eldeſt not above four Years old, the youngeſt not much above one Month old, and I having but little of this World, reaſoned much about going, thinking my Circumſtances at preſent might excuſe me; my Intentions were good, in that I might not leave Things any way to the Diſhonour of the Truth: My innocent young Child was taken away when about a Year old; and ſoon after, where ever I went, while I was awake, it ſounded in my Ears ſeveral Days and Nights, *Now is the Time, Now is the Time.* My other two Children, Providence ſo ordered it, that they were

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placed to mine and Friends Satisfaction: I went through many Provings that no Man knew of, but I believe, when I am gathered to my Place, I shall leave many Brethren behind me yet in mutability, that will read my Lines in their own Experience. I would not have any to misunderstand me, for as to my outward Circumstances, I left no Debt, neither was I in a way of going backward in the World; for ever after I received the Knowledge of the Truth, I could not see what Pretence I could have to Religion, if any should lose by me: I have often said, and been hearty in my Intentions, that *rather than Truth should suffer on that Score, I would live upon Bread and Water, and wear very mean Cloaths, and work very hard if I were able, and upon any mean, if but lawful Calling.* It hath been Matter of Wonder to me, how any that appear to carry any Pretensions to Religion, dare run such great Ventures, sometime beyond their own Bottoms or Abilities, which to me hath always appeared an unwarrantable Frique; and, as I apprehend, Pride and Ostentation is much the Occasion of it, which are much against Truth, and Men are no better for their greatness, for the more plain, and the more humble we are, the more we resemble humble Jesus, and his Religion, which he laboured to inculcate. If any are lifted up, or aspire above their Place, let them consider well the foregoing Paragraph.

Now I must leave my little Children, and my very near Friends, and my native Country, and all for Christ and the Gospel's sake, without any sinister End or View; and then I appealed to the Lord, in the

the simplicity of my Heart, that *he knew I was willing to be at his Disposal*, and *what he had favoured me with, I could leave to him*; yet whether what I had was sufficient to defray mine and my two little ones necessary Charges, was somewhat in my way; and to satisfy me in this Doubt, the Lord's Voice sounded exceeding clear to that Sensation I was then endued with, saying, *Go and be faithful, and I will bless thee every way.* Oh my Heart seemed to me to melt, and my Spirit to dissolve within me, and I said, *Good is the Word of the Lord, thou hast not failed me in any of my great Straits and Trials to this Day; I have great Cause to trust in thee: Renowned be thy most excellent Name, now and for ever.*

I parted with my Friends with much brokenness of Heart, and set forwards on my Journey towards *London*, in order to take shipping there, the 11th of the *Eighth Month* 1700; and when I, with my Companions *Thomas Thompson*, *Josiah Langdale*, and *John Estaugh*, with some other Friends, went on board a Ship in the River *Thames*, we had not been long there, and having considered our freedom about going in the Ship, it opened clearly in my Mind, in the Light, *that I must not go in that Vessel*; and I said to the Friends *I could not go in her, for I saw nothing but Death and Darkness there.* The Account of what afterwards happened to the Ship I had from two particular Friends, in two several Letters from *London* into *America*, wherein they express'd a Thankfulness for our Deliverance, and magnified that Hand which wrought it, and preserved us from going in that Ship, which was lost near the Islands

of

of either *Jersey* or *Guernsey*, and, as it was said about seventy People were drowned.

Peradventure I may mention some Things that may appear to be of but little Moment, but I have seen the Divine Providence attend terrene Affairs, although they may appear of little consequence to some; such as do not duly consider these Things, may make a wrong Application, and as the Course of my Travels hath afforded variety of Trials and Transactions, which are in some Things very particular, from whence ariseth variety of Accounts, so there hath been a Willingness in my Mind to favour some who have been desirous of having me to leave a Journal of my Life, which I have complied with, as far as I can see my way clear in the Truth.

Then we went on board of another Ship called the ARUNDEL, *Splenden Rand* Master, in which we embarked the 17th of the *Ninth Month* 1700, and after many Storms, and much Sea-sickness, not without some Conflicts of Spirit, more than I am free to express, and a long Passage, being near sixteen Weeks upon the Sea, we arrived in the River *Patuxent* in *Maryland*, as near as I remember, the 5th or 6th of the *First Month* 1701, and my Heart was glad, and filled with Acknowledgements and Praises to the Lord, for bringing us safe over the mighty Waters.

Now we left the Ship and Master, who was but a churlish, ill-natur'd Man. I was very weak and low when I landed, both in Body and Mind, but the Lord helped me, and made my Journey and

Labours comfortable to many, as well as to my own Soul. After the first or second Meeting we were at, *John Estaugh* being now my Companion, as we came near a great House in *Maryland*, I espied a little white Horse, the Sight of which put me in mind of a Dream I had on board the Ship before I landed, in which I thought *I had got a little white Horse which carried me well, and many Miles*; I said to the Friends with me, *let us call here at this House*, which we did, and upon Enquiry about a Horse, the Man said, *he had none but a little white young Galloway*, as he called it, which he was *willing to sell*, and withall told us, *it carried him one Day forty Miles*, and asked 8 *l.* Sterling for it, and I bad him 5 *l.* Sterling; the Man's Wife coming up the Passage, heard what I had offered, and she said to her Husband, *it is enough*; so I had him, and a good Horse he proved, and carried me, by a moderate Computation, 4000 Miles. I took this, according to the nature of it, to be a singular Favour from that great Hand which led me forth, and hitherto hath preserved me in the Land of the Living, to praise his ever worthy Name.

Now we set forward towards *Virginia* and *North Carolina*; and found great Openness in these two Provinces amongst the People, and a tender-hearted Remnant of Friends scattered abroad in these Wilderness Countries. Although, as I said before, I was brought very low, yet the Lord, in whom I did, and yet do believe and put my Trust, raised me, and filled many times my Heart with his Word and Testimony, so that sometimes it went forth as a Flame of Fire amongst the loose Libertines, who were proud

proud and unfaithful, yet Profeſſors of the Truth, and we had many large and good Meetings. One Thing is worthy of Notice; as I was ſpeaking in a Meeting in *Virginia*, a ſudden ſtop came upon me, and occaſioned me to ſay, *I cannot go forward, whatſoever the Matter may be, I know not:* But giving over immediately, a Friend whoſe Name was *Edward Thomas*, began to preach, who was but young in the Miniſtry, although an elderly Man, and apt to be attended with Reaſonings; *but*, as he ſaid after the Meeting, *he had ſought to the Lord with Prayers, that he would condeſcend ſo far to his Requeſt, as to give me a Senſe of him, and in ſo doing he would take that as a great Strength, and Confirmation to his Miniſtry, in this the Day of his many Exerciſes and great Fears*, or much to the ſame effect; thus we ſee the Lord in his great Mercy condeſcends to the low, weak, and as it were, infant States of his Children, like a tender Father, and being our heavenly High-Prieſt, is touched with the Feeling of the Infirmities of his People; Thankſgiving and Honour be given to his moſt excellent Name, now and for ever.

During our Stay in *Virginia*, one remarkable Paſſage occur'd, which it may not be amiſs to inſert here, and the Caſe was thus; I being at a Friend's Houſe, an ancient Widow, in order to go to the Meeting, obſerved as I ſate in the Houſe, ſeveral Perſons of note came into the Yard (a Store-houſe being near) to make, as appear'd afterwards, a Seizure for Rates for the Government and Prieſt, they not being diſtinctly charged, but a mixed Rate, occaſions Friends in thoſe Parts to be ſtraitned about

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the Payment of them : I obſerving the Prieſt to be there, and appear very buſy, aſked, *What he was come about ?* The Friend replied, *They were come to make Diſtreſs for the* 40 lb. *per Poll,* as they phraſe it, which is 40 Pounds of Tobacco, payable for every taxable Head,(*i. e.* all above ſixteen Years old.) There were along with the Prieſt the Sheriff and Conſtable for the Government, and divers Merchants of note as Spectators: I underſtanding the reaſon of their coming, ſtept out to the Prieſt, who ſeemed a topping briſk Man, his Temper in this Caſe not unſuitable to his Name, which was *Sharp* ; and being come to him, I deſired him *to be careful how he devour'd Widows Houſes*, he briſkly replied, *he did not* ; to which I as cloſely returned, that *I found he did.* He denied my Aſſertion, and ſaid, *The Government gave him what he demanded and took* ; to which I gave the following Anſwer ; *Inaſmuch as he did not any thing for the Widow, for which he reaſonably might require a Reward, I believed the Government would not inſiſt upon it for him, if he would be willing to drop it, which in common Equity I thought he ſhould :* The Prieſt, diſpleaſed with this modeſt Reply, tartly anſwer'd, *You are no Chriſtians.* I told him, *The Charge was high and falſe, and he might more eaſily affirm than prove it* ; wherefore I put the Queſtion, and aſked him, *Why we were ſo charged by him ?* To which he returned this inſignificant Anſwer, *That we denied part of the Divinity of Chriſt.* I told him, *he was a Novice, and receded in his Opinion from moſt of his Brethren, ſeeing it was a general Reflection caſt on us by moſt of his Fraternity, That we owned the* Divinity of Chriſt, *but deny'd his* Manhood, *which was falſe alſo* ; there-

fore

fore I demanded of him, *to prove what Part of the* Divinity of Chriſt *we denied; in which if he fail'd, I ſhould look upon him as a falſe Accuſer, and thoſe preſent would, I hoped, be my Witneſſes:* But he ſhuffled, and declined anſwering, though I urged him as much as poſſible; and to cut the Matter off, he aſked, *Whence I came?* The Sheriff bid him give me a Verſe in *Greek*; I told them, *I mattered not meddling in that, for as the* Engliſh *Tongue was beſt underſtood by thoſe preſent, therefore I thought it would be beſt to keep to it.* I told him, *I was of* Old England, but ſtill reminded him of his proving his Aſſertion, which I looked for from him; but inſtead of that, he aſked *what Part of* Old England *I came from?* I told him *Yorkſhire*; and bid him produce his Proofs, as before urged, but he ſtill evading the Matter, deſired to know *from what Place?* I told him *I was born at* North Cave; *and,* ſaid he, *I was born at* South Cave, *and my Father was Miniſter there many Years, his Name was* Sharp, *and there is but a Mile difference betwixt thoſe Places:* I ſaid, *it was a long one.* No ſooner was this over, but the Prieſt, tranſported with my being his Countryman, began hugging me to ſuch a Degree, that I was quite aſhamed of him: When I had, not without ſome Difficulty, got clear of his Embraces, I aſked him, *if he eſteemed himſelf a Miniſter of Chriſt?* He anſwered, *Yea, and lawfully called thereto*; I told him, *if he was a Goſpel-Miniſter, as the Goſpel was free, ſo ſhould his Miniſtry be free*; and turning to the People there preſent, I told them, *I would not have them deceived, for they might underſtand he only poſſeſſed his Place by Virtue of a* Law *in that Caſe provided, and*

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his Call *and* Ordination *was only such as had been transferr'd upon him for a Fee, which made him require Pay for what he did, and indeed where he did nothing, which was highly unfair ; wherefore they might upon Consideration find he was but a Minister* of the Letter, *which was* dead, *and not a Minister of the* Spirit *and* divine Power : From which he offered not to clear himself, though I urged him thereto. Then I asked him, *which of these* odious Characteristics *the* false Ministers *were branded with, and deciphered by in the New Testament, he could clear himself of?* which I then enumerated to him. The Sheriff said, *it was so* ; and withall said, *Mr.* Sharp, *answer the Man, for the Question is very rational, and you ought to answer him, and for Honour sake clear yourself of these Odiums if you can :* But he would not offer to meddle with it ; wherefore I told him, *to mind for the future, not to charge any Man or People with more than he could be sure to prove ; for it was highly scandalous.* It being now Meeting-time, I asked him *to go thither* ; but he refusing, said, *he durst not* ; so we parted.

Having visited Friends here, we returned back for *Maryland*, and *Pennsylvania*, and a great many we found who loved to hear the Testimony and Doctrines of Truth, but too few there were, who took up the Cross daily, and followed Christ in the way of Self-denial, and knew the thorough Work of Regeneration, so as *to have their Garments washed and made white in the* mystical *Blood of the Lamb :* These are not polluted with the Sins and Iniquities of the World, who have experienced this Blood *to sprinkle the Heart from an evil Conscience.* These are capable

of

of ſerving the living God ; and coming from the Laver or Pool that truly waſhes, there is none unfruitful, *but every one bearing twain*, and they are inwardly clean and fruitful to God, and walk with him, whoſe bright and ſhining Lives are alſo fruitful to the World that will receive them. Read this thou that haſt known ſomething of the Work of *Converſion*, and conſider the great Difference there is between the bright Lives of the *Virtuous* and the dull and cloudy Lives of the *Vicious*, and beſure thou look well, which of theſe thou moſt reſembleſt in thine.

Now when we came into *Pennſylvania*, my Companion before mentioned, whom I loved well, told me *he muſt go back to* Virginia ; it became an Exerciſe to us both, for I could not ſee my Way clear to go back, having been twice through that Province. When no other Way appeared, but we muſt part, (for my Way appear'd clear for the *Jerſeys*, *Long-Iſland*, *Rhode-Iſland*, and *New-England*) I held it needful that we ſhould, as we did, call the Friends and Elders of *Philadelphia* and thereabouts together, to let them know how we parted, for we parted in much Love and Tender-heartedneſs ; yet notwithſtanding, leſt any undue Reflections ſhould be caſt upon the Friends there concerning us, becauſe of our parting, I thought theſe Friends would be capable of ſetting thoſe Things in their proper Light, being Witneſſes thereto ; ſo taking our Leave of our dear Friends in theſe Parts, I travelled without any Companion outwardly, or conſtantly ; but I ſometimes fell into company with *Elizabeth Webb* and

Sarah

Sarah Clement, who were virtuous Women, and lived near the Kingdom, and were of good Service in their Travels, and grew in Truth, which while with them I was ſenſible of: We travelled under great Care and Circumſpection, both for our own good, and avoiding Offence, as became our Places, and holy Profeſſion, that in all Things we might adorn the Goſpel of the Kingdom, a Diſpenſation of which was committed to us to preach unto others. Good Service I had for the Lord, and great Satisfaction in my own Mind in theſe Parts, the Lord helping me by his mighty Power through all my Trials, as my Heart and Mind was devoted and reſigned to anſwer his Requirings.

I had great Openings in ſeveral Places in *New-England*, and it appeared clear to me, and ſometimes I ſpoke openly of it, that the Lord would gather a great People to the ſaving Knowledge of the Truth in his Time, notwithſtanding what many of our Friends had ſuffered for the Name of the Lord, and Teſtimony which they held in theſe Parts, from the Predeceſſors of the preſent Inhabitants: The View of the State of theſe Things, eſpecially the great Sufferings of many of our faithful Friends, put me in Mind of that ſaying, that *The Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church*; and in this Caſe, I believe it will be fulfilled in its Seaſon.

One Paſſage happened, which I think not fit to paſs over in ſilence: There came into one Meeting, eaſtward in *New-England*, a Man, who was Brother to a *Preſbyterian* Prieſt, to oppoſe Friends, (who, as Friends ſaid, had been often very troubleſome

ſome in the Meeting) in the Beginnig of the Meeting he deſired to have Liberty *to aſk ſome Queſtions*. I being a Stranger, and not having ſo much as heard of the Man, nor any making Reply to him, I felt Liberty in the Truth to return the following Anſwer in behalf of the Meeting, *That I did apprehend it was the Deſire of Friends, inaſmuch as the Meeting was appointed for the Worſhip of God, and not for aſking of Queſtions, or controverſies, that the chief Part ſhould firſt be anſwered; and I alſo thought the Meeting would be willing, in the Concluſion, to give him Liberty to aſk the Queſtions, if his Intent therein was for* Information *or* Satisfaction, *and not for* Contention. Friends were ſilent, and the Man ſubmitted to what was propos'd, and a good Meeting we had, the Lord's heavenly Power and living Preſence being with us, and the Subſtance was felt among us, and exalted over all the Shadows and Types; and Chriſt the true Bread and living Water, Light and Life of the World, was exalted that Day; and the mighty God and Father, with his beloved Son, through the Help of the holy Spirit, was glorified, who is worthy for ever. Near the Concluſion of the Meeting, the Man began to ſpeak well of what he had heard, particularly touching that of *Water-Baptiſm*, which, he ſaid, *he had nothing to object againſt*; but as to the *Sacrament*, as he called it, *becauſe little or nothing had been ſaid about it, therefore he concluded, we either denied or diſuſed it*; or Words to the ſame Purport. Then I ſtood up and ſaid, *I did not remember that the Word* Sacrament *was in all the Bible; but*, I ſaid, *I ſuppoſed he meant the* Bread and Wine; he anſwered, *he did*; I

aſked him, *whether he was of the ſame Mind, the* Epiſcopal *Church was of? If not of the ſame Mind he might ſay ſo; for they ſay,* the Bread and Wine is an outward and viſible Sign of an inward and ſpiritual Grace, *&c. what ſaid he to it?* He was ſome Time ſilent; then I aſked him, *How long he thought that Sign was to continue?* He replied, *To the End of the World.* I anſwered, *He did not read in all the Bible, that the Lord had appointed any Figure or Sign but what was to end in the Subſtance, which is to be witneſſed and enjoyed in this World, and not put off only to the End or Concluſion thereof, as his Argument ſeemed to declare,* by his urging, *that the Sign of that divine Subſtance muſt remain till the End of this World.* I aſked him, *What he could anſwer to that?* He turn'd off with only ſaying, *I was too great a Scholar for him, and ſo he would not meddle with me.* He then was ſilent, and there being many People, I had a fine Opportunity to open to the tender-hearted, and Friends preſent, how *that* was at beſt but a Sign, which the People eat and drank outwardly, in Remembrance of Chriſt's Death until he came, but that I could now prove plenteouſly from the New Teſtament, that the *Subſtance*, the *Grace* was come, and urged many Proofs out of the Scriptures to the ſame Purpoſe: And when I had done, what I had ſaid ſo reached a good-like old Man, a *Preſbyterian*, that he confeſs'd with Tears, *he had heard much ſaid upon that Subject, but had never heard it ſo opened before*; and ſaid, *he believed I was in the right.* The Meeting broke up in a good Frame, and Friends much rejoiced that that Truth came over all, and the contentious Man was ſilenced: And when the Meeting was over, the

goodly old Man took me to the Door, and asked me, *what a Man should do in case of a* solemn League *and* Covenant, *he being entered into it?* I told him, *I needed not to direct him, for he had that in himself which would shew him what he would do; for if one should make an Agreement or Covenant with Hell and Death, in the Time of Ignorance and Darkness, and now the* true Light *discovered it to be so; the same Light which discovered and manifested it to be* wrong, *as he was faithful to the same, would shew him how and when to* break it, *and every other wrong Thing; to which Light I recommended him,* and bid him *take heed to it*; which he said, *he hoped he should*; and so I left him with Tears on his Cheeks, and passed on.

I omitted one Thing which happened in that Part of *New-England*, near *New-York* and *Long-Island*, although I was twice backward and forward, yet to be brief in my Travels through those Countries, intended to make one Account serve, *viz.* As I was speaking in a Meeting, there came a great Damp over my Spirit, and in that Time came into the Meeting several Men, occasioned by a topping and great Man in the World, who had given them an Expectation that they should hear how he would oppose the *Quakers*; but in a short time Truth rose, and Friends generally heard a Man say to this Disputant, *why do you not speak?* he hush'd him with saying; *the Man is upon the Subject which I intend to oppose them with.* After some Time the Man was put upon again to speak to me, with a *why do not you speak?* we heard him say, *the Man has open'd the Thing so as I never heard it before, and I have Nothing*

to

to ſay: And to his own, and the Wonder of his Neighbours, he ſat down upon a Seat near the Door and wept tenderly; ſo it was a good time to him, and many more, for the Lord's mighty Power was amongſt us. And in my Return from my Journey in the Eaſt Parts of *New-England*, the ſame great Man deſired me to condeſcend *to have a Meeting at his Houſe*; and after due Conſideration and Approbation of Friends, who deſired it might be ſo, when they knew it was his Requeſt, a Meeting was appointed, and I heard there were likely to be at it a great many of the higher Sort of *Preſbyterians* of his Neighbourhood.

I went to the Meeting under no ſmall Concern of Mind, but when I was come into the great Houſe, I was very much affected with the wiſe Conduct of the Man, to ſee in what excellent Order he had placed every Thing, ſo that I could not find wherein any Thing could be amended; and a heavenly Meeting it was, without any Oppoſition; and at the breaking up of the Meeting, this tender Man, whoſe Heart was broken and opened by the Power of Truth, ſaid audibly, *His Heart and Houſe were open to receive me, and ſuch as me, let all ſay what they would to the contrary.* But what the ſubject matter was at the firſt Meeting when he came in, I forgot; it was enough that we remember'd we had a good and heavenly Meeting, and were truly thankful for the ſame to him who was the Author thereof.

I and ſome other Friends being in our Paſſage by Water in a Veſſel bound for *Rhode-Iſland*, and meeting with high and contrary Winds, we put into a Creek

Creek ſome Miles diſtant from *Rhode-Iſland*, and deſired the People to procure us ſome Horſes to ride on, and we would pay them any Thing that was reaſonable but hoped they would not make a Prey of us, for we were Strangers, and they ought to do to us as they would be done by, if they were in a ſtrange Land, as we were; and there came up to us a goodly old Man, and aſked us, *what People we were? if we were not* Quakers? I told him, *we were in Scorn ſo called, but we did not much mind Names, for there was but little in them.* He was a briſk talking Man, and ſaid, *there was a Man here lately that ſaid he was a* Quaker, *and borrowed a Horſe, and when he was gone ſome Miles from this Place, he offered to ſell the Horſe: I know not*, ſaid the Man, *but you are ſuch.* I returned this Anſwer to the Reflection; *That was a great Proof that we were an honeſt and reputable People where we were known, he might aſſure himſelf of that; for when a Man is ſo wicked, as to become a notorious Cheat, he will cover himſelf under the beſt Name he can think of, otherwiſe he might have ſaid he was a* Baptiſt, *or a* Preſbyterian, *or an* Epiſcopalian, *and deſired you to lend him an Horſe; but you mind not theſe Names, neither doth the wicked Man think he can paſs ſo well under any of theſe* laſt, but under the *firſt; and the Reaſon of it I leave thee to judge.* The old Man aſked no more Queſtions, but uſed his Endeavours to get us Horſes, and a Man and Horſe to go with us, to have the Horſes back again, and we were well mounted; but before we ſet forward, the old Man took me to his Houſe and was very courteous to me, for though we had ſpoke

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for ſome Victuals in as ſhort a Time as well might be, he invited me to drink, and brought of his Apples and Beer, which he would have my Friends to partake of, *for*, he ſaid, (and we found it true) *it was but a poor Inn*; I think there was no Liquor at it, but Brandy or Rum, and Water. The old Man and I parted very lovingly, and I gave him a Piece of Money to ſhew my Gratitude for his Civility and good Service to us. The People looked upon us as ſome great Wonder, for I heard one ſay, *Are theſe Quakers? well*, ſaid he, *they look like other People*. How we had been repreſented, and by whom, its not hard to gather, for it is very apparent, the ſame Spirit and the ſame Enmity yet doth continue in ſome of the Inhabitants of that Country, which ſome of our Friends formerly felt the ſevere Effects of; but they are ſince ſomewhat moderated by the Government there, which is of a more mild and Chriſtian Diſpoſition; although I am well aſſured, that many of the more conſcientious and thinking People in thoſe Parts of the World begin to ſee, and many will ſee and underſtand in Time, that *hanging* and *taking away Lives*, for the ſake of Religion, is oppoſite to Chriſt, and the Nature of the true Religion which is wrought in Man by the Operation, Quickenings, and *Indwellings of the holy Spirit*, which, as it is regarded and followed, leavens and brings the Soul of Man in ſome degree to put on the Purity, heavenly Image, and Nature of Chriſt, which is *Love*, *praying for Enemies*, and is not for *deſtroying*, but *ſaving* Lives; but how far the Reverſe will agree with that Religion taught by Chriſt

Chriſt, and practiſed by him and the Apoſtles, I would have all ſeriouſly conſider of in Time.

While we were in *Boſton*, when one of the aforemention'd worthy Women was declaring excellently, with both good Utterance and Voice, as alſo good Matter, as the Manner of the Inhabitants of *Boſton* had been for many Years to encourage, or at leaſt ſuffer a rude Mob to bawl and make a Noiſe, ſo they did now, that it was hard to hear ſo as to underſtand diſtinctly what the Friend ſaid, although ſhe ſpoke plain and intelligibly: It did very much grieve me to ſee the Ignorance and Darkneſs of thoſe high Profeſſors of Religion, ſo that when the Friend had done, obſerving there appeared Men of ſome Note in the World, I requeſted them to huſh the Rabble, for I had ſomething to ſay, which I deſired them to make known to the Governor and chief Men of the Town; ſo they ſoon quell'd the Noiſe. Then I told them, *That in caſe we were as erroneous as ſome might inſinuate we were, that was not the Way to convince us of our Errors, neither to bring us out of them, but rather to eſtabliſh us in them; and that was not the Way for them to gain Proſelytes, but the Way to loſe many from them, and increaſe Diſſenters; for what Convincement could there be by Noiſe and Clamour, and Hooting, as if they would ſplit their own Lungs? I had come a great Way to ſee them, and what Character could I give of them? I never thought to have ſeen ſo much Folly amongſt a wiſe and religious People as now I ſaw: Tell the Governor and chief of the Town, what the old* Engliſhman *ſaith; for I am aſhamed of ſuch Doings.* It had a good Effect, for when I came after,

after, we had quiet Meetings; and I underſtood by a Letter from *Daniel Zachary* of *Boſton*, to *Old England*, that the Governor ſaid *I was in the right*, and order'd that Peace ſhould be kept in Friends Meetings there; and I never heard to the contrary but it is well yet as to that. We have great reaſon to be truly thankful to the Lord for theſe, and all other his Mercies, that He the Fountain of all Good is pleaſed to favour us with: And as an Inſtance of the Lord's Mercy to many poor Sufferers, and to ſhew the implacable Envy of theſe People to Friends, the Caſe of *Thomas Maulham* of *Salem* may ſuffice, in ſome meaſure, to ſet forth both, who was a great Sufferer in the Time of hot Perſecution, when the Perſecutors had ſtript him of almoſt all he had; their inſatiable Minds not content with that, they came with Axes and hew'd down all the Apple-trees in his Orchard, it being a large one, and left the Stumps about the height of a Man's Knee, and, as *Thomas Maulham* ſaid, they took the Way as they thought to ruin him; but the Lord turned it into a Bleſſing, for the Trees grew to Admiration, and came to bear Fruit abundantly, and a finer Orchard I have not ſeen in all my Travels, for the Bigneſs of it; let the Lord be ſanctified by all his People, and admired by all them that believe.

I with ſeveral other Friends went from *Salem* Yearly-Meeting (which was a large and good Meeting) towards *Dover*, and coming to a River, I ſtaying a little behind, a Friend took my Horſe with two more into the Boat, and by that Time I came to the River-ſide the Boat was ſinking, and the Ferryman

Ferryman made a lamentable Cry, saying, *The Boat is sunk, and we shall be all drowned*; although it was so ordered, that there was but one Friend in the Boat with the Boatman, and I do not remember that ever before now my Horse was in any Boat, and I not there; which I looked on as the Mercy of a kind Providence to me, and to several other Friends in Company. I hearing the Noise, as before, (and also the slondering of the Horses when tumbling into the Water) called to the Men, to be sure to take care to free themselves of all the Tackling of the Horses, (as Bridles, Stirrups, &c.) and catch hold on my Horse's Tail, and he would bring them both ashore; but if they trusted to the other (as before mentioned) when the Horses swam they would fail them, unless very strong; and to have them hold by the Bridle was the way to drown both Horse and Man: This Advice was given while they had the Horses in their Hands; the Boatman being a lively Youth, took my Advice, caught hold of my Horse's Tail, it being long, (which I ever approved of among Rivers) and I calling to my Horse, he came quickly with the Man ashore, but left the honest old Friend *Exekiel Waring* to whose House we intended to go that Night) in the River floating to the Neck, a hundred Yards from the Shore by Computation, yet watchful Providence did so attend that his Life was preserved to a Wonder; for it was so ordered, altho' he miss'd taking my Advice, and caught hold of his Stirrup, and the Girth broke, as they are apt to do if they be tight when the Horse begins to swim, which brought off the Saddle and

Pillion, and the Oar of the Boat, and his Hat, which with the Pillion-ſeat being in his Arms, juſt bore up his Head above Water for ſome Time; his poor Wife ſeeing the Danger to which her Huſband was expoſed, fell into a fainting Fit; (there being neither Houſe, Man, or Boat, to be ſeen on this Side of the River, but ourſelves, the Boatman, and the Stem and Stern of the ſunk Boat full of Water.) A Houſe there was on the other Side of the River, which was half a Mile over. The Ferryman did his beſt to get a Boat or Cannoe, and altho' it began to be dark, yet he found a Cannoe, (which is made of a fine Piece of Timber hollowed in the Form of a Boat, and generally will carry but two or three or four Men;) he coming near, aſked *if* Ezekiel *was alive?* I told him he was, but very weak, for I had often heard him blubber in the Water; I encouraged him, that he might not faint in his Mind, for I told him, *I yet believed his Life would be preſerved*; he would very faintly ſay, *Unleſs Help came, he could not hold it long.* I went on by the Waterſide, and laid me down often on the Land, not much regarding Wet or Dirt, ſometimes tumbling over Logs of Wood and Limbs of Trees, for ſo it is in theſe uncultivated Places: I directed the Man with his Cannoe where the poor Friend was, as near as I could tell by my laſt Obſervation, & withal deſir'd he would turn the Stern of his Cannoe to him, as he could not lift him into the Cannoe; neither to let him lay his Hand upon the broad Side of it, but upon the Stern, leſt he ſhould overſet it, and ſo both be drowned: So he did, and brought him gently aſhore, to the

great

great Joy of his loving Wife and us all. The Boatman, as he owned, had found my Counsel good, and therefore would have me tell him what he might do now; I bid him fetch the Boat to shore by the Fowler or Rope, and then go and carry *Ezekiel* in the Cannoe to the Inn on the other Side of the Water, that he might dry, warm, and refresh himself until we came; in the mean Time we clear'd the Boat of Water, which when done, we put two Horses into it, and I towed my Horse at the Boat's Stern to make Room for several, especially the good Woman before mentioned, who were at this Time in my Company, not without their Exercise any more than myself: We got well over, and then the Ferryman and Friend on the other Side brought the Horses that were left, being three, which were enough for the Boat, and proved too many the first Time. We found the good old Friend finely and well recruited, and got to his House about Midnight, where we were glad, and our Hearts were full of Praises to the Lord for this great and eminent Deliverance and Preservation.

In this first Visit while in *Rhode-Island*, I met with something worthy of thy Notice, if thou art such a Reader as I wish thou mayst, which was thus: Being in *Rhode-Island*, several Friends came to me in some of the Intervals of the Yearly-Meeting, (for it held several Days, both for Worship and Discipline) to enquire whether it was usual to let the Young, and such as had but appear'd little in Testimony in our Parts of the World, come into Meetings of publick Friends? I said, *Yes. if they were*

of

of clean Lives, and what they had to say, approved; and it was very like such might want Advice as much as those who were come to more Experience in the Work of the Ministry, if not more: This was some means of enlarging the said Meetings of Ministers now coming on. When I came into the Meeting, several of the Elders desired me to go into the Gallery, which I refused, the Concern upon my Mind being so great, I thought it was enough that I could but get into the House, and sit down among the lowest Rank.

This Meeting was one not to be forgotten, because of the eminent Visitation from the Lord that was upon us in it; I have not often seen the like; I question if there were any dry Cheeks for sometime in it; and the Manner of the working of the heavenly Power was remarkable, in order to the sanctifying and preparing Vessels for the Lord's Use; and he broke us down by his Judgments from following flattering Flesh, and the pleasing Vanities of the World, and the subtle Baits of Satan, by the Tenders of his Love, and engaged us to follow the heavenly and inward Calls, Knocks, and Reproofs of his holy Spirit, and to obey the Dictates of the same. When the Lord prepares in a good Degree for this Work of the Ministry, many have been unwilling to give up and obey, until they have tasted of the Lord's Displeasure, and in part of his Judgments, which have brought them into a Submission; after which they went out with their Lives sometimes in their Hands, and became a Wonder to Man, bearing their Reproach, and sometimes appear'd in great Congregations, sometimes in

Noises

Noiſes and Tumults, and ſometimes were in Watchings and Faſtings, in Wearineſs, Hunger and in Cold, with much more, for the Name of the Lord and his Teſtimony, and for the Enjoyment of Peace, and the internal Preſence of him that hath ſeperated us to this Work by the holy Ghoſt; and it is in and by our abiding faithful to the ſame, that we are preſerved in a Capacity of Perſeverance through all to the End, to the mutual Help and Comfort one of another, and Renown of the Name of the Lord, who is worthy now and for ever.

We alſo had a very large Meeting on this Iſland in an Orchard, where I had good Service for the Lord; and I remember I was much concern'd about the two Miniſtrations, *viz. John*'s Baptiſm with *Water*, and CHRIST's with the *holy Ghoſt*, it being clear from *John*'s Words, that he ſaw to the End of his own Diſpenſation when he declared, *he muſt decreaſe*, *but* CHRIST *muſt increaſe*; which is generally underſtood to reſpect their differing Diſpenſations; for the firſt Baptiſm was to baptize *unto Repentance*, the other to *the purging of the Floor*, and *burning up of that which was combuſtible*, viz. the Chaff and Stubble, which the Lord's Baptiſm burneth up inwardly, and which no elementary Thing can do; for if all the Eatings, Waſhings, Obſervations and Ceremonies under the Law, although to *Iſrael* commanded and enjoined by the Lord, could not make the Comers thereunto *perfect*, how ſhould theſe or any of them now, when not commanded, as they never were to us, *perfect* the *Gentile* World? So what I had upon my Mind, as I received, I went through with,

with, and ſhewed the Beginning, Uſe and End of the watery Diſpenſation, and the Uſe and Continuance of CHRIST's ſpiritual Baptiſm to the End of the World. The Meeting broke up, and Friends went into an upper Room in an Inn; but I felt ſuch an Exerciſe upon my Spirit that I could not eat, but deſired Friends to be eaſy, and I would eat as ſoon as I could; and while I was walking over the large Chamber alone, there came up three Men whom I knew not, nor what they were, but it ſprang livingly in my Heart to ſet my Eyes on them in the Lord's Dread, and ſo I did; they paſſed away, and I was told afterwards, that they were three *Baptiſt* Preachers who had been at the Meeting and came once more to ſee me, with a Deſign to have a Diſpute with me; *but*, they ſaid, *I look'd ſo ſharply they durſt not meddle with me:* Thus the Lord in a good Degree wrought for me, bleſſed be his worthy Name for ever.

Now I leave the Account of my Travels in thoſe Parts, and enter upon my ſecond, with my honeſt Companion *James Bates*, who was born in *Virginia*, and travelled much with me thro' many Provinces, and ſome Iſlands; we had good Service together, and it was much with me, when on *Rhode-Iſland*, to viſit *Nantucket*, where there were but very few Friends; *Peleg Slocum*, an honeſt publick Friend near *Rhode-Iſland*, intending to carry us in his Sloop to the ſaid Iſland that Night; and *Peleg* thought we had been cloſe in with our deſired landing Place, but we fell ſhort, and Night coming on, and having but one ſmall Cannoe to help us aſhore, which would carry but three People at once, we went aſhore at twice,

twice, and left the Sloop at an Anchor; and it being grown dark, we thought we were going up into the Iſland among the Inhabitants, but ſoon found that we were upon a Beach of Sand and Rubbiſh, where was neither Graſs nor Tree; neither could we find the Sloop that Night, though we ſought it carefully, and halloo'd one to another till we were weary, ſo that we were forced to ſettle upon our little Iſland, from the Center of which, one might caſt a Stone into the Sea on every Side; here we ſtaid that Night, not knowing but the Sea, when at the Height, would have ſwept us all away, but it did not; there I walked, and ſometimes ſat, until Morning, but ſlept none; at laſt the Morning came, and the Miſt went away, and we got on board again, and reached the Iſland about the ninth or tenth Hour.

The Maſter was willing, at our Requeſt, to land three of us, (*i. e.*) me, my Companion, and *Suſannah Freeborn*, a publick Friend, who had a Concern upon her Mind for ſome Time, (as ſhe ſignified to Friends in *Rhode-Iſland* where ſhe lived) to viſit the few Friends in *Nantucket*, and Friends thought this a proper Seaſon to pay that Viſit. She was a Woman well beloved, and in good Unity with Friends.

We landed ſafe, and as we went up an Aſcent, we ſaw a great many People looking towards the Sea, for great Fear had poſſeſs'd them, that our Sloop was a *French* Sloop loaded with Men and Arms, who were coming to invade the Iſland: I held out my Arms and told them, *I knew not of any worſe Arms than theſe on board.* They ſaid, they were glad it was no worſe, for they had intended to have alarmed

med the Iſland, it being a time of War: I told the good like People, for ſo they appear'd to me, that *Peleg Slocum*, near *Rhode-Iſland*, was Maſter of the Sloop, and that we came to viſit them in the Love of God, if they would be willing to let us have ſome Meetings amongſt them. They behaved themſelves very courteouſly towards us, and ſaid, *they thought we might.*

We then enquired for *Nathaniel Starbuck*, who we underſtood was in ſome degree convinced of the Truth, and having Directions to his Houſe, we went thither, and I told him, *We made bold to come to his Houſe, and if he was free to receive us, we would ſtay a little with him, but if not, we would go elſewhere; for we heard he was a ſeeking religious Man, and ſuch chiefly we were come to viſit:* He ſaid, *we were very welcome.* And by this Time came in his Mother *Mary Starbuck*, who the Iſlanders eſteemed as a Judge among them, for little of Moment was done there without her, as I underſtood.

At the firſt Sight of her it ſprang in my Heart, *To this Woman is the everlaſting Love of God.* I looked upon her as a Woman that bore ſome Sway in the Iſland, and ſo I ſaid, and that truly, *we are come in the Love of God to viſit you, if you are willing to let us have ſome Meetings among you:* She ſaid, *ſhe thought we might*; and withal ſaid, *there was a* Non-conformiſt *Miniſter who was to have a Meeting, and they were going to it, and ſhe thought it would be the beſt way for us to go with them to the Meeting.* I ſhewed my Diſlike to that for theſe Reaſons; *firſt*, we did not want to hear what that Miniſter had to ſay, becauſe

cauſe ſome of us had tried them before we came there (meaning the *Non-conformiſts* of ſeveral Sorts) and if we ſhould go, and could not be clear without ſpeaking ſomething in the Meeting, he might take it ill; but as we underſtand there is another Meeting appointed at the ſecond Hour for the ſame Man, therefore, as the preſent Conſtitution of Things are we look upon ourſelves to ſtand upon an equal Ground in a religious Capacity with other *Diſſenters*; and if we ſhould appoint our Meeting at the ſame Hour, then the People will be left to their Choice to which Meeting they will go. The great Woman approv'd of the Propoſal, and ſaid, *indeed that was the beſt way.* The next Conſideration was, *where ſhall the Meeting be?* She pauſed a while, and then ſaid, *I think at our Houſe.* I from thence gathered ſhe had an Huſband, for I thought the Word *our*, carried in it ſome Power beſides her own, and I preſently found he was with us; I then made my Obſervation on him, and he appeared not a Man of mean Parts, but ſhe ſo far exceeded him in Soundneſs of Judgment, Clearneſs of Underſtanding, and an elegant way of expreſſing herſelf, and that not in an affected Strain, but very natural to her, that it tended to leſſen the Qualifications of her Huſband.

The Meeting being agreed on, and Care taken as to the Appointment of it, we parted, and I lay down to try if I could get any Sleep, for I have ſhewed before what ſort of a Night the laſt was with us; but Sleep vaniſhed away from me, and I got up and walked to and fro in the Woods until the

Meeting was moſtly gathered. I was under a very great Load in my Spirit, but the Occaſion of it was hid from me, but I ſaw it my place to go to Meeting, the Order of which was ſuch, in all the Parts thereof, I had not ſeen the like before: The large and bright rubbed Room was ſet with ſuitable Seats or Chairs, the Glaſs Windows taken out of the Frames, and many Chairs placed without very conveniently, ſo that I did not ſee any thing wanting, according to the Place, but ſomething to ſtand on, for I was not free to ſet my Feet upon the fine Cane Chair, leſt I ſhould break it.

I am the more particular in this exact and exemplary Order than in ſome other Things, for the Seats both within and without Doors were ſo placed, that the Faces of the People were towards the Seats where the publick Friends ſat, and when ſo ſet, they did not look or gaze in our Faces, as ſome I think are too apt to do, which in my Thoughts beſpeaks an unconcerned Mind: The Meeting being thus gathered and ſet down in this orderly and ample Manner, (although there were but very few bearing our Name in it) it was not long before the mighty Power of the Lord began to work, and in it my Companion eſpecially did appear in Teſtimony in the fore Part thereof; and while he was ſpeaking, a Prieſt (not him before touched on, but another) flung out ſome Reflections upon him, and the People for his Sake, which I did not ſee the leaſt Occaſion for; after which he went away, (but more of this in the Sequel.)

I ſat a conſiderable Time in the Meeting before I could

I could see my Way clear to say any thing, until the Lord's heavenly Power raised me, and set me upon my Feet as if one had lifted me up, and what I had first in commission to speak, was in the Words of Christ to *Nicodemus*, viz. *Except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God*; with these Words, *Nay, the natural and unregenerate Man cannot so much as see the heavenly and spiritual Kingdom of Christ, which stands not only in Power, but also in Righteousness, Joy and Peace in the holy Spirit*; *and to be born again, was not to be done unperceivably, no more than the natural Birth could be brought forth without Trouble*; *and to pretend to be in Christ and not to be new Creatures, is preposterous*; *and to pretend to be new Creatures, and yet not able to render any Account how it was performed, was unreasonable*; *for it could not be*, as I urged before, *without our Knowledge*; *for to be born again, signified to be quickned and raised into a spiritual and new Life, by which the Body of the Sins of the Flesh is mortified, and we come to live a self-denying Life: Those who are crucified with Christ, they are crucified to their Sins, that as he died for Sin, we might die to Sin: In this State we live not after the Flesh although we live* (as the Apostle said) *in the Flesh*; *but the Life which these live, is through Faith in the Son of God: And to have all this, and much more wrought in us, and we* know nothing *of it, is unaccountable.*

As I was thus opened, and delivering these Things, with much more than I can remember, the great Woman I felt, for most of an Hour together, fought and strove against the Testimony, sometimes looking

ing up in my Face with a pale, and then with a more ruddy Complexion ; but the Strength of the Truth increaſed, and the Lord's mighty Power began to ſhake the People within and without Doors ; but ſhe who was looked upon as a *Deborah* by theſe People, was loth to loſe her outſide Religion, or the Appearance thereof : When ſhe could no longer contain, ſhe ſubmitted to the Power of Truth, and the Doctrines thereof, and lifted up her Voice and wept : Oh ! then the univerſal Cry and Brokenneſs of Heart and Tears was wonderful. From this Time I do not remember one Word that I ſpoke in Teſtimony, it was enough that I could keep upon the true Bottom, and not be carried away with the Stream above my Meaſure.

I might add much more concerning this Days Work, but I intend not to ſay any thing to the Praiſe of the Creature, but to the Renown of the mighty Name of the Lord of Hoſts, and let all Fleſh lye as in the Duſt for ever, for while I continued ſpeaking in this State, as before mentioned, and thus ſwallowed up in the internal Preſence of Chriſt, where there was no want of Power, Wiſdom nor Utterance, I ſpoke but a Sentance and ſtopt, and ſo on for ſome Time, I have ſince thought of *John*'s being in the *Spirit on the Lord's Day*. If it had been a State to have been continued in, I am of the mind, I ſhould not have been ſenſible of Wearineſs, neither of Hunger or Pain. This is a Myſtery to many, yet theſe are faithful and true Sayings, thou mayſt read that canſt ; but there are none who can know the *white Stone* and *new Name*, but they who have *it* : There

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are none who ſtand upon Mount *Sion with Harps* of God *in their Hands*, but only ſuch as *have come through great Tribulations, and have waſhed their Garments and made them white in the Blood of the Lamb*; to theſe are *the Seals of the Book of the Myſteries of the glorious Kingdom opened*; theſe are *called out of Nations, Kindreds, Tongues and People*; theſe are *redeemed out of the fallen* and earthly *State of old* Adam, *into the living, heavenly and ſpiritual State in Chriſt the ſecond* Adam; theſe cry *holy*; the other Part of the Children of Men cry *unholy*, becauſe they are not willing *to caſt down their Crowns at the Feet* or Appearance *of Chriſt in their own Souls*; altho' ſuch, with the four Beaſts may cry, *come and ſee*, yet are they not properly qualified to *worſhip the Lord God and the Lamb before his Throne*, as the four and twenty Elders did, and as all do, and will do, who worſhip God in his holy Temple in Spirit and in Truth, according to his own Appointment; who are not tyed up to the Canons, Creeds, Syſtems and Dictates of Men, much of which is beaten out of the Wiſdom, Parts, and natural Comprehenſion, of earthly fallen Man.

I return from this, which may ſeem a myſterious Digreſſion to the other Part of what did happen concerning the Meeting, and come now to the breaking up thereof; and as extream Heats oft end in extream Cold, and as great Heights frequently center (as to Man in this Capacity) in great Depths, and great Plenty in great Poverty, which I have often ſeen to be good in order to keep the Creature low, in Fear, and in a Dependence upon the Lord, I ſoon fell

fell into such a Condition that I was *like to die away*; and when it was so, I with my Companion made a Motion to break up the Meeting, but could not for some Time, for they sat weeping universally; then I told the Meeting, especially such as were near me; *that if I should faint away, I would not have them to be surprized at it*; for I was much concerned lest that should hurt these tender People; my Life was not dear to me in comparison of the Worth of the Souls of the Children of Men; but all this did not break up the Meeting: But after some Time *Mary Starbuck* stood up, and held out her Hand, and spoke tremblingly and said, *All that ever we have been building, and all that ever we have done, is all pull'd down this Day, and this is the everlasting Truth*; or very near these Words. Then she arose, and I observed that she, and as many as could well be seen, were wet with Tears from their Faces to the fore Skirts of their Garments, and the Floor was as though there had been a Shower of Rain upon it; but *Mary*, that worthy Woman, said to me, when a little come to consider the poor State that I was in, *Dear Child what shall I do for you?* I said, a little would do for me; if thou canst get me something to drink that is not strong but rather warm, it may do well: So she did, and I went unto her Son's, where my Cloaths were, that I might shift me, for I felt Sweat in my Shoes as I walked.

I mention this partly for the sakes of such of my Brethren, who may be at any time in the like Case, to take Care to keep out of the Cold, and beware of drinking that which is cold, neither is Brandy good, for

or it feeds too much upon the weakned Vitals ; but in all Things endeavour to poſſeſs your Veſſels in Sanctification and Honor : And as it is not in Man's Power to make the Veſſel clean nor prepare it, therefore if the Lord doth (with thy Obedience through the Work of his Grace and holy Spirit) fit thy Veſſel for his Work and Service, take this Caution ; ſee that *thou neither deſtroy, defile, nor hurt the ſame.* But it may be, ſome or other have done all theſe, ſome one way and ſome another.

I remember *Peleg Slocum* (before mention'd) ſaid after this Meeting, that the like he was never at ; for he thought the Inhabitants of the Iſland were ſhaken, and moſt of the People convinced of the Truth : However, a great Convincement there was that Day, *Mary Starbuck* was one of the Number, and in a ſhort Time after receiv'd a publick Teſtimony, as did alſo her Son *Nathaniel.*

After I was ſomewhat revived, my Companion having a Mind to ſpeak to the Prieſt, to know why he did ſo reflect on him, deſired me to go with him, which I did with ſeveral more, and coming to his Door where he was ſet upon a Bench, *James Bates* aſked him, *why he did ſo reflect?* He reply'd, *he was in a Paſſion, and had nothing againſt him* ; then *James* forgave him, and they fell into ſome Debate concerning *Faith* ; my Friend urged the Apoſtle *James*'s Words, which are theſe, *As the Body is dead without the Spirit, ſo is Faith without Works.* The Prieſt ſaid, *Dead Faith was nothing, and that it had no Being in the World.* I thought he appear'd to be in the Craft ; and after they had tugg'd at it a while, I ſaid,

I found ſomething in my Mind to interpoſe, if they would hear me; they both ſhewed a Willingneſs to hear what I had to ſay; and then I aſked, *what Belief or Faith that was the Devils had? for I did not underſtand, but that although they believed there was a God, they remained Devils ſtill; therefore the Word* dead, *is a proper Word, and properly adapted to that which many may call* Faith *and is not operative, but a Notion that may be received by Education, by hearing or reading, and not* that Faith which works by Love, and overcomes the World; *and becauſe of its not working, being inactive and uſeleſs, is fitly called* dead; *What doſt thou ſay to that?* He ſaid, I was too great a Scholar for him. I replied, *there was no great Scholarſhip in that.* He then invited me to ſtay all Night, and ſaid I ſhould be as welcome as his own Children, and he and I would diſpute about that between ourſelves. I declin'd it and ſhewed theſe Reaſons for ſo doing; *If he declin'd the Debate* publickly, *I would not debate it* privately; *for then theſe Neighbours of his would want the Benefit of it*; and ſo we parted, with my ſaying, as it immediately ſprang up in my Heart, *Thou haſt been a Man in thy young Years that the Lord has been near, and favoured with many Openings, and if thou hadſt been faithful to the Gift of God, thou mighteſt have been ſerviceable, but thou haſt been unfaithful, and a Cloud is come over thee, and thou art laid aſide as uſeleſs.*

I was altogether a Stranger to the State of the Prieſt, nor had I heard any thing of him, nor indeed of the State of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, but what I heard after moſtly from *Mary Starbuck*; for

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as we walked from the Prieſt's Houſe towards our Quarters, ſhe ſaid, *every Thing ſhe now met with, did confirm her in the Truth; for ſhe knew this was the State of the Prieſt*, as I had ſaid; ſhe being acquainted with him in his beſt State, and then he had fine Openings, and a living Miniſtry among them, but of late a Cloud was come over him, and, as I ſaid, *he was laid by and uſeleſs*. She alſo put me in mind of ſomething I had ſaid in the Meeting about *Election*, which as near as I can remember was thus: I had endeavoured to make *one in the Election*, and *one born again*, much the ſame; for I had laid waſte all claim to *Election* without *being born again*; for as Chriſt was the *Choſen* or *Elect of God*, who never fell, could ſuch who were in the Fall be the Branches of Chriſt, the pure heavenly Vine? Or ſuch who were found in the impure State, and in the Degeneracy, by Reaſon of Sin and wicked Works? Or would Chriſt be married to a People, and become as their Huſband, who were in an unconverted State? Could this be the true Church of Chriſt? Could this be the Lamb's Bride, who had departed from his Spirit, and was in the Pollutions of the World through Luſt, and running after the Pleaſures and Fineries of the World, depending upon Ceremonies, and outſide Things and Elements, which appear not to be *eſſential* to our Salvation, neither do we find Life in them, nor Converſion through them? I was of the Apoſtle's Mind, that *neither Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion availeth any Thing, but a new Creature*: And what Man in the World can ſay, that *Water* (although he may have been baptized or dipped into

the ſame) hath *converted* him, or changed his State from a natural to a ſpiritual, or from a dead to a living State in Chriſt? Or, who that have gone through the moſt celebrated Ceremonies (as ſome may account them) had thereby got *Dominion* over Sin and Satan?

Having thus treated of Things, or to this purpoſe, among them, I ſaid to *Mary that ſhe warred and ſtrove againſt the Teſtimony for a Time:* And as near as I remember, ſhe ſaid their Principle was, *That ſuch who believed once in Chriſt, were always in him, without Poſſibility of falling away*; and *whom he had once loved, he loved to the End:* And it was a Diſtinction they had given to their Church, to be called *Electarians*; and as I ſaid, or near it, *ſhe had no mind to be pulled out of her ſtrong Hold.* But when ſhe ſaw the Glory of Chriſt, and the true Church, as the Queen of the South ſaw *Solomon*'s, and the Glory of his Houſe; and as ſhe had her Queſtions and Doubts anſwered, *ſhe had no more Spirit in her* or Doubts or Queſtions, but openly owned, *This is the Truth, this is the Glory I have heard ſo much of:* That Spirit of doubting and queſtioning was ſwallowed up now, by her hearing and beholding for herſelf this greater than *Solomon*, his Wiſdom and Glory, and the great Houſe that he had built (the Servants, the Attendance, and excellent Order, with the Aſcent unto the Houſe of God, which were all wonderful in *Solomon*'s Houſe, carried in them a lively Reſemblance of Chriſt, his Power, Glory and Wiſdom) as alſo that Order and Mean which is ſeen among his faithful Servants, his Church and People, even ſuch as our ſpiritual *Solomon* rules in and over

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by his Spirit and Power. Here is *Solomon*, or *Man of Peace*, elſewhere called the *Prince of Peace*; and as *Solomon* ruled in *Jeruſalem*, formerly called *Salem*. or *City of Peace*, and indeed over all *Judah*, and over all his Tribes, ſo doth Chriſt in his Kingdom every where upon the Face of the whole Earth. Learn this, ſee and know in and for thyſelf, that thou art truly tranſlated out of the Kingdom of Death and Darkneſs into the Kingdom of Chriſt, which is a Kingdom of Power, Life, Light, Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt. I was much bowed down in my Spirit, and in Weakneſs, Faſting, and in much Fear; for the more that Truth appears, the more it brings the Creature into Self-abaſement.

A Paſſage is here revived to my Mind, which was thus: After a large Yearly-meeting, where were many able Miniſters, one of whom was worthy WILLIAM PEN, who taking me aſide after the Meeting, ſaid *The main Part of the Service of this Day's Work went on thy Side, and we ſaw it, and were willing and eaſy to give way to the Truth, though it was through thee, who appears but like a* Shrub; *and it is but reaſonable the Lord make uſe of whom he pleaſes: Now, methinks, thou mayſt be cheerful.* From which I gathered, that he thought I was too much inclinable to be caſt down; therefore I gave him this true Anſwer, *I endeavour to keep in a medium, out of all Extreams, as believing it to be moſt agreeable to my Station*; with this Remark, *the worſt of my Times rather imbitter the beſt to me*: WILLIAM ſhook his Head, and ſaid with much Reſpect, *There are many who ſteer in this Courſe beſides thee, and it is the ſafeſt Path for*

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us to walk in; with several other Expressions which bespoke Affection.

This worthy Man, and Minister of the Gospel, notwithstanding his great Endowments and excellent Qualifications, yet thought it his place to stoop to and give way to the Truth, and let the holy Testimony go through whom it might please the Lord to impower and employ in his Work, although it might be through contemptible Instruments. I sincerely desire this may prove profitable to those whom it may concern, and into whose Hands it may come, that the Lord's Work may be truly minded, and given way unto, when it is opened; for seeing no Man can open it, let not any strive on the Man's Part to shut the same. I have at times seen something of this Nature, which hath not been altogether to my Satisfaction; *a Word to the Wise may serve*, I would hope, and may be sufficient for a Caution, for what I have written is in the Love of God, and under a Concern that hath been upon my Mind at Times, for some Years, to leave behind me a gentle Caution to my tender Friends of both Sexes, to have an especial Care in all things, to recommend not only their Gifts, but their Demeanor in them, as also their Conversations after them, to every Man's Conscience in the Sight of God, so that you may build up the Lord's House (like the wise Woman) and always have a great Care, that nothing you say or do may any way tend to the Hindrance of the Lord's Work, or discourage the Weakest in the Flock of Christ, but labour to fasten every Stake, and strengthen every Cord of *Sion*, and as much as you are capable, build

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up the Tabernacle in *Jeruſalem*, for as God is a Spirit, and the Soul of Man is a ſpiritual Exiſtence, and as the Soul and Body of Man become ſanctified and prepared, as a Temple for the Lord by his holy Spirit to tabernacle in, the Lord is to ſuch as a Sanctuary to fly to, and reſt in, from Heats and from Storms: Here is the true Church's Rock, and Place of Defence (*to wit*) the Name and Power of the mighty God. Oh! that all the Inhabitants of the Earth were acquainted with this Name, and Rock of Defence, they would not then be ſo much overcome, as they are, with the Power of the Enemy of the Soul, but live above his Region, which is in the Earth, or rather, in the earthly Hearts of Men. All you who have eſcaped the Pollutions of the World, keep in your Tents, until the Lord moves and leads forward, and opens the Way, ſometimes as in a Wilderneſs.

Read and underſtand from whence theſe Things have their Riſe and Original, for there is the Church's Safety, and its Comlineſs too, in abiding in the Truth; this is your Place of Safety where the Enemy has no Power, where the Wiles of Satan and Inventions of Man cannot reach, no Inchantment hath Power over theſe, renowned be the great Name of the Lord now and for ever.

How comfortable, how eaſy and pleaſant are even all the Books, and Teſtimonies, and Exhortations, that are given forth in the Spirit, Love and Life of Chriſt? yea, the very Company and Converſation of ſuch who are preſerved in the Life, becomes a ſweet Saviour of Divine Life to the Living; there is

Edification

Edification, Comfort and Conſolation, a ſtrengthning and building up one of another in the moſt holy and precious Faith, ſo that I find the truly quickned Soul taketh great Delight to reſort to, and as much as may be, converſe with the awakened and truly quickned Souls who take up the Croſs of Chriſt daily, and follow him in the Way of Self-denial, although it be a Way that is much ſpoken againſt, by ſuch who know not the Nature and Diſcipline of the holy Croſs, and deſpiſe ſuch who are true followers of Chriſt. To feel this eſſential Virtue, Seed or Leaven of the Kingdom, or Salt of the Covenant (Chriſt) to work ſo effectually to the reſtoring of the Powers and Faculties of the Soul, into the firſt Rectitude and Purity, that all the Malignity may be throughly purged out, with all the Droſs or Tin, which defileth the Man, and makes him unfit for the Kingdom and for the Service of God, is a great Work. Neither is the Veſſel preſerved clean, (when it is in degree cleanſed) but through great Care Watchfulneſs and Diligence in attending upon the Lord with great Devotedneſs, and Reſignation to his Mind and Will in all Things: Experience hath taught us, as well as what we read in the holy Scriptures, that there are many Combats to go through for ſuch as are engaged in this Warfare, before the above-ſaid State, *viz. Deliverance from Sin and Satan*, and *a Sabbatical* or *peaceful Reſt in Chriſt* can be obtained to the Soul.

Come thou that loveſt the Light, and bringeſt thy Deeds to the Light; and believeſt in the Light, and haſt thy Body full of Light, by keeping thine Eye ſingle

gle to God, and in and to all Things that may tend to his Glory and thy Duty, thou wilt become a Child of the Light, and receive the whole Armour of Light; this is that which will arm thee on the right Hand and on the left: Put off thy own Righteousness, which it may be thy Breast hath been too much possessed with, and put on Christ's Righteousness as a *Breast-plate*, for it much imboldens in imminent Dangers, and also at approaching Death; wait upon him that hath Power, that thy Feet may *be shod with the Preparation of the Gospel of Peace*; so that as the Gospel-Power, and Gospel-Ministry, all tend to gather into the Ways of the Gospel and of Virtue, thou mayst not fail to be a Preacher of Righteousness in thy Walking, and in thy whole Conversation; for this is one of the good Ends for which the Gospel-Power hath reached and visited thy Soul, *viz.* to *purge it and make it clean*; and take care to have upon thy Head *the Helmet of Salvation*, which will be a Strength and as a Crown to thee, not only in thy many Encounters, but more especially in thy last Encounter with Death; and that thou mayst have Faith *as a Shield to put on*, that thou mayst overcome the World and have Victory; and above all things, take to thyself *the Sword of the Spirit*, which is the Word of God, that through this excellent Armour of Proof, thou mayst be able to *quench all the fiery Darts and Temptations of the Devil.*

If thou art a Soldier of Christ, this is thy Armour; these are thy Accoutrements which fit thee for thy Vocation, as a Follower of the Lamb through many Encounters with thy Enemies, which Armour

mour will give thee the Victory, and bring the through many Tribulations, which is the Way t the Kingdom of Heaven.

Now leaving the Eaſtern Parts of *New-England* and theſe fine tender People on *Nantucket* Iſland with fervent Supplications and Prayers to the Lord of Heaven and Earth, that he would proſper his bleſſed Work and Converſion which he had begun amongſt them, and in all ſuch upon the Face of the whole Earth, in the next Place I came to *Lynn*, to *Samuel Collings*, where I had not been long before I met with an unuſual Exerciſe, which I had expected for ſome Time would fall upon me, *viz.*

Having heard of *George Keith*'s Intention of being at *Lynn* Monthly-meeting the next Day, (this *Lynn*, as near as I remember, lies between *Salem* in the Eaſt Part and *Boſton*) the Evening coming on, as I was writing to ſome Friends in old *England*, one came in haſte to deſire me to come down, for *George Keith* was come to the Door, and a great Number of People and a Prieſt with him, and was railing againſt Friends exceedingly. I ſaid, *inaſmuch as I underſtand this* Lynn's *Meeting is, although large, moſtly a newly convinced People*, I adviſe *you to be ſwift to hear, but ſlow to ſpeak, for* George Keith *hath a Life in Argument ; and let us as a People ſeek unto, and cry mightily to the Lord, to look down upon us, and help us for his Name's ſake, for our Preſervation, that none may be hurt.*

The Country was much alarmed; for, as Friends ſaid, *George Keith* had given Notice two Weeks before-hand, that he intended to be at this Monthly-meeting,

meeting, and the People were in great Expectation to hear the *Quakers* run down, for *George Keith* had boasted much of what he would prove against Friends. So after some Pause, Retirement and fervent Seeking to the Lord for Direction and Counsel in this important Affair, I went to the Rails, and leaned my Arms on them near *George Keith*'s Horse's Head, as he sat on his Back, and many People were with him; but the few Friends who were come stood with me in the Yard. My fervent Prayers were to the Lord, that if he gave me any thing to speak to *George*, it might go forth in that Power and Wisdom which was able to wound that wicked Spirit in which he appear'd, and boasted over Friends after the following Manner, crying, *Is here a Man that is a Scholar? Is here a Man that understands the Languages amongst you? If so, I will dispute with him.* I told him, *It was probable that the* English *Tongue was most understood and used amongst that People, and therefore I thought it was the best to keep to it.* He went on and said, *that he was come in the Queen's Name to gather the* Quakers *from* Quakerism, *to the Mother Church, the good old Church of* England and that *he intended to exhibit in our Meeting on the Morrow these Charges following against us, which,* he said, *he could prove we were guilty of, out of our Friends Books*, viz. Errors, Heresies, damnable Doctrines *and* Blasphemies: *Look* said he, *to answer for yourselves, for if you do not, the Auditory will conclude, that what I exhibit against you is true.*

I was roused up in my Spirit in a holy Zeal against his wicked Insults and great Threatnings,

and said to him, *That it was the Fruit of Malice and Envy*, and *that he was to us but as an* heathen Man *and* a Publican ; (but more of this anon.) Then he began to cast what Slurs and Odiums he could upon Friends, with such bitter Invectives as his Malice would invent. I stood with an attentive Ear and a watchful Mind ; for as I stood leaning upon the Rails, with no small Concern upon my Mind, I felt the Lord's Power arise, and by it my Strength was renewed in the inner Man, and Faith, Wisdom and Courage with it, so that the Fear of Man, with all his Parts and Learning, was taken from me ; and in this State *George Keith* appeared to me but as a *little Child*, or as *nothing :* Renowned be the most excellent Name of the Lord, now and for ever. But this great Champion (*Goliah* like, at least in his Mind) I supposed fear'd not any there ; he overlooked us all, and in the Pride of his Heart disdained us; but the Lord of Heaven and Earth looked down upon us in a very acceptable Time, and helped us for his Name's sake, and covered our heads in the Day of Battle : Glorified be his great Name for ever.

I have sometimes thought to omit some Part of this Account concerning *George Keith*, but I remember it opened very clearly in my Mind then, and I said to him, *That the Hand of the Lord was against him, and that he would pour forth Contempt upon him, for his Disobedience and Wickedness.*

But to return to his Reflections ; he said, *the* Quakers *pretend to be against all Ceremonies, but he could prove that they used many Ceremonies, as* taking one another by the Hand, *and* Men saluting one another,

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and Women doing so to one another, *and*, he said, *that Women did* salute Men ; *yea, they had done it to him* ; as it was generally understood by those who heard him, which I thought not worthy my Notice, (but more of this anon.) He went on and said, *the* Quakers *pretended to be against all Persecution, but they were not clear, for the* Quakers *in* Pennsylvania *and the* Jerseys *had persecuted him, and would have hang'd him, but that there was some Alteration in the Government.*

Then came out one of my Arrows which cut and wounded him deep : I said, George, *that is not true.* Upon that the Priest drew near and appeared very brisk, and said, *I had as good as charged Mr.* Keith (as he called him) *with a Lye.* I replied, *Give me Time, and I will prove that which* George *said, was* not true, *and then thou and he may take your Advantage to rescue him from that Epithet of a Lyar if you can.* The Priest said, *I knew not Mr.* Keith : I replied, *If he knew him as well as I did, he would be asham'd to be there as an Abbettor of him.* The Priest got away, and troubled me no more in all the Engagements that *George* and I had afterwards (altho' the said Priest was with him,) Then I demanded of *George, What Way our Friends proceeded against him, and what Measures they took, as he would insinuate, to bring him to the Gallows?* But I perceived Fear began to surprize the *Hypocrite*, and he thinking by my Boldness I was an Inhabitant in those Parts, and knew his Abuse to Friends in these Provinces, and their peaceable Behaviour towards him, was willing to let the Matter drop, and demanded *my Name*, which

which was told him. I then asked, *How he could have a Face to urge such a notorious Untruth in the View of that People who were much Strangers to, and ignorant of the Troubles and Differences, chiefly created by him, among Friends in those Parts.*

This Meeting (as before mentioned) being generally newly convinced of the Truth, therefore I urged to have him come to the Particulars of Friends Proceedings against him, that even for very Shame among those Strangers he would set forth as far as he could in Truth the Steps Friends had taken in persecuting him, as he pretended; but he would not meddle in the least with it. Then I shewed him, and the People, the Falsity of his Charge, and the Wickedness of his Spirit, and the Peaceableness of Friends Behaviour towards him, and what great Affronts and Provocations they had put up with at his Hand, as I had it from those who were Eye and Ear Witnesses of it: For, as I shewed *George Keith*, I had searched into the Bottom of these Matters, and heard that when he stood before Governors and Assembly Men in their Courts of Judicature, when they were met about the Affairs of the three Provinces, he has tore open his Buttons and told them, *His Back tickled for a Whipping*, and *could they not cut him into Collops, and fry, and eat them with Salt:* And that *he scorn'd they should wipe his Shoes:* All which, with much more, I told him *I could prove against him.* And when he saw he could not provoke Friends to give him some condign Punishment, *which I thought*, as I said to him, *none but Friends would have spared*, especially, *when his*

Back

Back tickled so much for a Whipping; but they like Men of Peace and Religion overlooked it all, and he like a Man full of Malice, rather than want something to slur and blacken Friends with, writ a Letter I know not where, but dated it from *Bridlington* Prison in *West-Jersey*. It must have been dated on the outside of the Prison, the Doors being lock'd, so that he could not get into it; yet this went current far off, *that* George Keith *was in Prison*; consequently by Friends Procurement, they being chief at the Helm of Government in those three Provinces.

I asked, *What he had to say to all this, for it was all provable?* He did not object one Word against what I had said, but vainly hoping for better Success relating to his Undertaking in old *England*, finding me (as he might suppose) so well vers'd in the *American* Affairs, hoped (no doubt) that I had been more ignorant of the Affairs in *Britain:* But poor Man, he sped as ill there also; for he boastingly said, *Since it pleased God to open his Eyes to see into the worst of the* Quakers *Errors*; *although*, he said, *Charity did oblige him to construe every thing at the best whilst in Fellowship with them, but since they were so opened*, as he said, *he had been instrumental to bring from* Quakerism, *to the good old Mother Church in old* England *five hundred People.* I replied, *that is not true:* If he rightly considered what he had done in old *England*, he had little cause to boast; *for*, I said, *I thought about as many Persons as he spoke of Hundreds, would make up the Number there; and if there was Occasion, I could name all or most of them:*

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And withal told him, *that some of those few, whilst among us, were grown to be neither honourable nor comfortable to us.* I urged *George*, if he could, to name or make appear more in Number than I had mentioned, that he had so gathered, as he had falsly said. This was a very great Stroke upon him, and put him to a Stand.

He then began to ask of my Country, and from whence I came? with the Account of which I humoured him; yet withall put him in mind of his great Brag, and importuned him to make something appear towards that great Matter he had done in old *England*, even for very shame; for I was asham'd for him, that a Man of his Learning, Parts and Pretensions, should so expose himself; but he went no farther about it. Then I shewed to the People what Sort of a Man he was, (as they themselves could not but see, who were impartial) and that he was not worthy of our Notice; for he cared not what he said, so that he could but calumniate and abuse us.

By this Time he appeared somewhat glutted with the sharp Sword and keen Arrow the Lord gave me, which cut and wounded deep, so that from this Time I did not find in our after Encounters, he appear'd at any time so bold and desperately hardy, but rather expressed himself, altho' very wickedly, yet in a softer Tone. He was now for being gone, threatning us with what he would do on the Morrow; but I reminded him, that he was to us *an heathen Man or a Publican*, and that what he exhibited against us, being but the Fruits of Wrath and Envy,

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as ſuch we ſlighted and trod it under our Feet as Dirt, and rather deſired his Abſence than his Company: So away he went only telling us, he would be with us in the Morning. We underſtood by it, that he intended to be with us at the Friend's Houſe, the Meeting-houſe being about a Quarter of a Mile from our Lodgings.

The Evening coming on, the neighbouring *Preſbyterian* Women fell hard upon our Women Friends about *their ſaluting Men;* which *George Keith* had charged upon them, as was generally underſtood in the Plural, *and this appeared as a Confirmation*, as they alledged, *becauſe when charged, I made no Reply to it, as I had done to all our moſt other Charges, and had overthrown Mr.* Keith, as they ſaid, *ſo that he was not able to ſtand before me:* They ought to have ſaid *before the Lord* in the firſt Place: But how the Women might clear themſelves of that Reflection was the preſent Buſineſs: I ſaid, I thought it would be the beſt, at a ſuitable Time in the Morning when *George Keith* was come, that by handſomely bringing the Matter over him, they might learn what Women they were who ſaluted him, and ſo clear themſelves from the Reflection caſt upon them; for, I ſaid, perhaps he will limit it to ſome of his near Kindred (as Wife, Mother, Siſter, Daughter) which may ſerve for a *Salvo* in this preſent Caſe; for I did not know of any ſuch general Practice in any Place where I had been, and I had viſited moſt of the Meetings in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*. So in the Morning when *George*, with two Prieſts, and many People were come, with ſome Friends, who filled the Houſe,

a Woman Friend ſtood up and brought the Matter diſcretely over *George Keith*. But when ſhe put the Queſtion in the Plural, (*Women*) he ſhifted the Term and ſaid, *he did not ſay Women*. I deſired the Friend to call to her Neighbours who heard what *George Keith* had ſaid the laſt Evening, and were now preſent, *how they underſtood the Word?* One like a wiſe and juſt Man ſaid, *He would do Juſtice to every Man; and he underſtood that* George *ſaid* Women; and many ſaid to the ſame Purpoſe, but none to the Contrary. The Friends aſked me, *How I underſtood the Word? As being a North Country-man, I might know better the North or* Scotch *Dialect than they.* I reply'd *They had a broad way of expreſſing the Word* Woman, *rather ſounding it like the plural, but I underſtood it* Women, as the above mentioned diſcreet Man had ſaid.

The next Queſtion ſhe put to him was, *What Woman?* He anſwered, *A good old motherly Woman that was gone to Heaven many Years ago.* Then ſhe aſked, *What Country Woman?* He reply'd, *A* Scotch *Woman.* The Friend ſaid, *It was very well that he had cleared all the World of that Fault* (if it might be ſo term'd) *but* Scotland, *and the Woman* dead *many Years ago.* The Women Friends were greatly ſatisfied, and glad they were ſo finely diſcharged of that which ſome counted a foul Reflection, and eſpecially before their Zealous Neighbours the *Preſbyterians*, who (as the Friends ſaid) probably might have twitted them with it, whether the Matter was true or falſe, if it had not been clear'd up; *but* as I ſaid, to *George*, *it was a Reflection for Reflection's ſake:*

ſake: For I was willing to ſet every thing that was wrong (as far as I was capable) in its proper Light, that Friends and others, of all Perſwaſions and Qualities who were preſent, might ſee Things as they really were, and not be deceived; and I had much Satisfaction in ſo doing. And inaſmuch as I was engaged in the Defence of the Truth, it appeared the moſt clear to me, to load him with his own Lies, Miſtakes and Wickedneſs, and to do what we did, as much as in us lay, in the Lord's mighty Power; for he appeared to me, like to the Angels who kept not their firſt State.

Matters being thus far gone through, and the Meeting-time drawing on, I was in ſome Concern of Mind, leſt any ſhould be hurt by either hearing or anſwering *George Keith*, he having a great Propenſity to jangling; it therefore opened in my Mind to aſk him a Queſtion, withal reminding him, *that he was but to us as an heathen Man or a Publican*, yet he might, if he pleaſed anſwer me the Queſtion, which was, *Whether he was always* ſound *in the fundamental Doctrines of* Chriſtianity, *yea or nay?* Upon which he ſat a conſiderable Time in Silence, of which I was truly glad, my Spirit being much bowed under the Apprehenſion I had, of the weighty Exerciſe that was likely to attend the approaching Meeting. But before we parted, *George* ſtood up and taking his Staff in his Hand by the Middle, ſaid, *While he was a* Quaker, *he thought, as* Paul *thought*, that he had the Spirit of God, *and when he had the Spirit of God, then he wrote* ſound Things, *but when he had it not, then he wrote* unſound Things. I aſked, *Whe-*

ther theſe unſound Things he wrote were in Fundamentals, *yea, or nay? If not in* Fundamentals, *then my Queſtion remained firm and untouched.* He would have gone from the Matter, but I reminded him of it again, as I ſuppoſed he foreſaw that he could not anſwer it, but by bringing a Stroke upon himſelf, for if he had owned his being *unſound*, I had it under his own Hand, in a Book written after he left Friends, *that he was always ſound*, &c. And if he had ſaid, *he was always ſound in the Fundamentals*, as before, then I intended to have aſked, *why he left us?* For he advocated the ſame orthodox Principles which we believed and taught; but we ended quietly, and prepared to go to the great Meeting, for by this time many Friends and People were come, and coming from every Quarter, to ſee and hear how Matters would go between the poor *Quakers*, and this great Champion in his Heart *George Keith*, for I thought he moſt reſembled the great *Goliah* of *Gath*, who defied the Armies of the living God, of any I had ever yet ſeen in all my Travels, in a religious reſpect.

Now to the Meeting we went; *George Keith*, with two Prieſts, and a great many People gathered together of ſeveral Profeſſions and Qualities into one Body; and Friends and ſome friendly People into another Body; and as we came near to the Meeting-houſe, I ſtood ſtill, and took a View of the People, and it appear'd to me as if two Armies were going to engage in Battle: There appear'd with *George Keith* Men of conſiderable Eſtates, Parts, and Learning, and we appear'd like poor Shrubs,

Shrubs; and, under a Senſe of our preſent State, I had like to have been diſmay'd, and my Faith had even like to have failed me, but I cried mightily to the God and Fountain of all our tender Mercies, that he would look down upon us, and help us in this Time of great Exerciſe, which was not hid from him; but his penetrating Eye ſaw, and his watchful Providence attended us, bleſſed be his Name for ever. I continued my fervent Prayers and Interceſſions to the Lord of Hoſts, that he would ariſe for his great Name's ſake, and work for us that Day, that the Enemies of Truth might not triumph or vaunt over us, and that none of theſe tender Plants, which he had brought to the ſaving Knowledge of the Truth, might be hurt.

I had no ſooner thus heartily ſought to the Lord, but I felt renewed Strength come upon me, and the Fear of Man was taken away from me, and I ſaw evidently that Truth would have the Victory that Day, and my Faith and Confidence was greatly ſtrengthned in the Lord. Theſe Breathings forth of my Spirit to the Lord were in ſecret, without Words to be heard by Men, but the Lord hears and knows the Diſtreſs and Language of the Spirit.

Being thus encouraged in myſelf, it aroſe in my Heart to ſpeak to Friends before we went into the Meeting-Houſe, and I adviſed them *to be ſwift to hear and ſlow to ſpeak*, and that *what was ſpoken might be in the Lord's Power, for that wounds* George *the moſt, and ſlays that wicked and ranting Spirit in him, more than all the Wiſdom of Words without it*; and let us *maintain our Teſtimony of Denial againſt him, and endeavour*

deavour to get together into one Body, that we may be a Help and Strength one to another; and let every one who knows the Lord, cry mightily unto him, that his living Power and Presence may be amongst us, and I believed the Lord would not suffer any to be hurt. So the Meeting gathered, and immediately after, *George* stood up to tell us (as before) *that he was come in the Queen's Name to gather* Quakers *from* Quakerism, *to the good old Mother Church, the Church of* England (as he called it) *and that he could prove out of our own Books that we held* Errors, Heresies, damnable Doctrines *and* Blasphemies; with a Threat *to look to ourselves to answer, or else the Auditory would conclude, that what he exhibited against us was true.* I expected some of the elder Friends would say something to him, but none did; and I having a deep Concern upon my Mind, lest Truth, or the Friends of Truth, should suffer thro' our Mismanagement, and such as waited for Occasion, might have an Occasion administred by us against ourselves; I say, under this Concern of Mind I stood up, and signified to the People what manner of Man *George Keith* was; notwithstanding he had walked many Years amongst us, yet towards the latter End of his so walking with us, he grew very troublesome, by reason of a contentious Spirit which did possess him: And after much Labour and exercising of Patience, and extending of Love towards him, in order to recover and reclaim him, all that Labour of Love and much Forbearance would not avail, but he still persisted in the Work of Contention and Disturbance: Then he was publickly disowned, and testified against by us, as a Per-

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ſon with whom we had no Unity or Fellowſhip: And being thus caſt out, *he became to us* (agreeable to the Sayings of Jeſus Chriſt) *as an Heathen Man or a Publican*; and being thus disjointed, to expoſe us, what lay in his Power, to all Sorts of People, he choſe *printing againſt us*; wherein he hath much abuſed us, in leaving out many times the explanatory Parts of Sentences, and coining Words to make the Meaning appear different from what was deſign'd and indeed, from what was moſt fair and genuine: Therefore, ſome of our Friends found themſelves concern'd to follow him in Print, for the clearing us from what he, through Envy, would have willingly faſten'd upon us, and to return his Self-contradictions, Miſinterpretations, and Miſapplications o our Writings upon himſelf, and to clear our own Innocency, and manifeſt the Perverſneſs and Wickedneſs of his Spirit: Neither do we, as a People, hold ourſelves to be under any Obligation to follow him into foreign Parts of the World, to anſwer his Arraignments and Charges, not being conſcious to ourſelves that we hold any thing contrary to ſound and orthodox Doctrine; and alſo knowing that what he exhibits againſt us, is the Fruit of Envy and Malice, as ſuch we reject it, and trample it under our Feet; and were it not for your Sakes, who are Strangers to theſe Things, we ſhould take no further Notice of *George Keith* than to ſlight and reject him as a Man that cares not what he ſays, nor is he worthy of our Notice.

Then pauſing a little, *George* being quiet, a Friend ſtood up with a ſhort, but living Teſtimony, and

and then my Companion; all this in much Weight and with good Demonſtration. After them it pleaſed the Lord to open my Mouth, I think in as much Strength, Clearneſs and Demonſtration as ever, Beginning with the following Words, *In that Way you call Hereſy do we Worſhip the God of our Fathers, believing all Things that are written concerning Jeſus Chriſt, both as to his God-head and Manhood*; giving a ſummary Account of his Birth, working of Miracles, ſome of his Doctrine, Sufferings and Death, Aſcenſion and Glorification, the Coming of the Spirit of Truth, or Comforter, to lead all thoſe who receive, believe, and obey it, into all Truth: Having great Openings concerning the Law and Prophets, and the Beginning, Service and End of the Miniſtration of *John* the Baptiſt. The People appeared very much down and attentive, for the Lord's heavenly baptizing Power was amongſt us that Day: It was thought, many were there who had not been at any of our Meetings of Worſhip before, and the Preſence of the Prieſts there, opened a Door for all the reſt.

I being clear, left them unto the Grace of God, and unto their free Teacher Chriſt, whoſe heavenly Power in the Appearance of his Spirit, the laſt and laſting Diſpenſation, was exalted that Day above all the ſhadowy and typical Things that ever had been in the World: A good Meeting it was, and Friends were mutually comforted and edified in the internal Preſence of the Lord.

The Prieſt of this Place, whoſe Name was *Sheppard*, before my Mouth was opened in Teſtimony, made

ıade Preparation to write, and when I began to peak, he had his Hat upon his Knee, and his Paer upon its Crown, and Pen and Ink in his Hands, nd made many Motions to write, but writ nothing; s he began ſo he ended, without writing at all. And as Friends entered the Meeting-houſe in the Lord's Power, even that Power which cut *Rahab*, nd wounded the *Dragon*, which had been at work, ept down in a good degree the wrong Spirit in *George*, for he appear'd much down: But this buſy Prieſt called to him ſeveral Times to make his Reply to what I had ſpoke. After ſome Time I ſaid o the Prieſt, in Behalf of the Meeting, that *he might have Liberty to make Reply*. He propoſed to have nother Day appointed *for a Diſpute* to which I ſaid, *if he did make a voluntary Challenge*, which he ſhould not ſay we put him upon, *we, or ſome of us* (meaning Friends) *if a Day and Place were agreed upon, ſhould find it our Concern to anſwer him as well as we could.* He ſaid, *he would have Mr.* Keith *to be with him:* I told him, *if he ſhould, and meddled in the Diſpute, if I was there, I ſhould reject him for Reaſons before aſſign'd.* When the Prieſt had ſaid this and ſomewhat more, an Elder of the *Preſbyterian* Congregation clapt him on the Shoulder, and bid him *ſit down*; ſo he was quiet, and then ſtood up *George Keith*, and owned *he had been refreſhed amongſt us that Day, and had heard a great many ſound Truths, with ſome Errors, but that it was not the common Doctrine which the* Quakers *preached.*

I then ſtood up and ſaid, *I had ſomething to ſay to obviate what* George Keith *would inſinuate*; for his Drift

Drift was to infuse an Opinion into them, that the *Quakers* did not commonly preach up Faith in the *Manhood* of Chrift, as I had done that Day: I appealed to the Auditory, whether they thought there was a Neceffity frequently to prefs a Matter fo univerfally received amongft Chriftians, as *Faith in the Manhood of Chrift was?* Yet we, as a People, had fo often and clearly demonftrated our Faith in the Manhood of Chrift, both in our Teftimonies and Writings, as might fatisfy any unbiafs'd Perfon, or fuch who were not prejudiced againft us; and we know not of any People who believe more fcripturally in the Manhood of Chrift than we do: But inafmuch as the Grace, Light and holy Spirit, is highly concern'd in the Work of Man's Salvation, as well as what Chrift did for us without us, and this being yet much a Myftery to many called Chriftians, it pleafes God to open, in the Courfe of our Miniftry, into the Meaning and Myftery thereof, and to prefs the latter more than the former. To which *George* made no Reply, but began to exhibit his Charges againft us (as mentioned before) and faid, *he could prove them out of our Friends Books*, naming *George Fox*, and *Edward Burrough*, &c. He had in a Paper a great many Quotations out of Friends Books, and a young Man with him had many Books in a Bag, *out of which*, he faid, *he would prove the Charges he was about to exhibit againft us.*

He was now crowded up in the Gallery between me and the Rail, with a Paper in his Hand; and I ftanding over him, and being taller, could fee his Quotations and his Paraphrafes upon them, on which

hich I told him loudly that all the Meeting might ear, *That he offered Violence to that Senſe and Underanding which God had given him, and he knew in his onſcience, we were not that People, neither were our riends Writings either damnable or blaſphemous, as he brough Envy endeavoured to make the World believe,* nd that he would not have Peace in ſo doing, but Trouble rom the Lord in his Conſcience. I ſpoke in the Lord's readful Power, and *George* trembled ſo much as I eldom ever ſaw any Man do: I pitied him in my Heart, yet, as *Moſes* ſaid once concerning *Iſrael*, I felt *the Wrath of the Lord go forth againſt him: George* ſaid, *Do not judge me*; I reply'd *the Lord judges, and all who are truly one in Spirit with the Lord, cannot but judge thee.* So he gave over, and it appearing a ſuitable Time to break up the Meeting, Friends parted in great Love, Tenderneſs, and Brokenneſs of Heart; for the Lord's mighty Power had been in and over the Meeting from the Beginning to the End thereof, glorified and renowned be his moſt excellent Name, now and for ever, for his Mercies are many to thoſe that love and fear him who is the Fulneſs of all Good.

This Meeting was not only for Worſhip, but alſo for Buſineſs, as I ſaid to the People at our parting; it was Friends Monthly-meeting, in which their Poor, Fatherleſs, and Widows were taken Care of, and ſuch other Things as concern them as a People. Two Friends were deſired to ſtay, to hear what *George* had to ſay to them who remained, which ſaid two Friends gave an Account to us afterwards, that *George* ſaid to the People after we were gone, *that the* Qua-

kers *had left none to diſpute with him but an Aſs and a Fool*; when I heard it, I ſaid, could you not have reply'd, *An Aſs was once made ſufficient to reprove the Madneſs of the Prophet?*

George called to ſee me the next Day, and ſaid *You had the Advantage over me Yeſterday, for you perſwaded me to be quiet until you had done, and then you would not ſtay to hear me*; neither indeed were we under any Obligation ſo to do: I told him, *I hoped that Truth would always have the Advantage over thoſe who oppoſed it*; and ſo we parted, but met again upon *Rhode-Iſland*; the Governor of which Place, who was a friendly Man, having heard of my Intention of coming thither, ordered the Deputy-Governor, when I came, to have me to him, which he did; and when he ſaw me at the Door, and after Enquiry heard my Name, he took me by the Hand and led me like a Brother, or rather more like a tender Father, into a Room, ſetting me down by him, and then began to ſay, *I have heard much of you, and I deſired to ſee you long, and am glad you are here.* I finding him near me in Spirit, was very open in my Mind to him, and anſwered him with much Clearneſs and Satisfaction. I remember he aſked, *Whether I thought the Sourneſs in the Minds of the* Preſbyterians *againſt us, was not rather abated?* I told him, *I did believe it was; and if our Friends did but obſerve to walk wiſely, and live up to what they profeſſed, they would overcome it all.* He ſaid, *that was the way, and there was not another comparable to it*; *and*, as he ſaid, and I believe it was ſo, *he had no other view in ſending for me, but to manifeſt his Reſpects to me, and to*

o do me any Service that lay in his Power : I told him, *I was ſenſible of his Love, and wiſh'd I could be capable of retaliating that which in Gratitude his Kindneſs to me called for :* He ſaid, *he deſired no more than when I came that way I would viſit him, if he was living.* I told him, *I intended ſo to do, if ever it was my Lot to come there again.* I then deſired he would be at the Meeting next Day, *George Keith* propoſing to be there, in all likelihood it would be very large; which he promiſed he would, and accordingly came.

George made little Diſturbance in the beginning of the Meeting, but commanded the Governor *to quiet the* Quakers: A prieſt ſaid, *Mr.* Keith, *you ought not to command the Governor, but intreat him*; well then, he intreated the Governor to quiet the *Quakers* that he might be heard; whereupon the Governor, like a Man of Juſtice and Wiſdom, ſtood up and ſaid, *It was not in his Power to quiet the* Quakers; *inaſmuch as the Houſe is theirs, and they have appointed the Meeting, it is but reaſonable they ſhould have their Liberty, and if they be willing, when they have done, you have your Liberty to ſay what you have to ſay to thoſe who will ſtay to hear you :* So the Governor being next me, lean'd his Hand upon me, and went away in a ſober Manner. *George* was quiet, and we had a good Meeting, and ſo parted.

After moſt of the Friends were gone, a Friend and I went to the Meeting-houſe Door, to hear what *George* ſaid; he held his Bible in his Hand, and ſaid it was promiſed, *that the Goſpel ſhould be preached unto every Creature under Heaven; but if it*

was

was truly tranſlated, it would be in every Creature, (*not in every Creature as* Horſe, Cow, &c. *but in every rational Creature of Mankind:*) And then their Meeting broke up in Confuſion.

My next Remove was to *Long-Iſland*, where I met with *Thomas Story*, and *John Rodman*; *John* deſired *Thomas* and me to be aſſiſtant to him in preparing a Writing againſt *George Keith*, when he came to *Fluſhing* Meeting upon the aforeſaid Iſland, which Writing was to this Effect, *viz.*

" Whereas Colonel *Weſt*, an Inhabitant in theſe " Parts, who died and made *Miles Forſter* a Truſ- " tee, gave by Will a conſiderable Sum of Money " to poor Friends of *London*, which Money was " ordered by the Teſtator to be put into the Hands " of ſome faithful Friends of the aforeſaid City of " *London*, to diſtribute as above." A true Copy of which Will we obtain'd, and at the Meeting made it fairly appear to *George Keith*'s Face, that he had wrong'd the Poor in receiving Fifty Pounds of the aforeſaid Money of *Miles Forſter*, as appear'd under *Miles*'s own Hand; which *George* did not deny when he was charged with in the Meeting, as *knowingly to have robbed the Poor*; it being made fairly appear, that *George Keith* had no Right to meddle with the Money, neither as a faithful Friend, nor yet as a poor Friend of *London*, becauſe he was then in *America*; and what made him more incapable of claiming any Part of it, was his being got into the Spirit of *Strife* and *Enmity againſt Friends*, and therefore, before they could hear his Charges, he ought to have firſt laid down the Money, or given

ven such Security as Friends approved of; neither of which he was capable of doing: So he was slighted by all or most of the People, as well as by Friends, and this block'd up his Way so much that we had little or no Trouble with him in that Part of the World: But the Lord wrought for his Name's Sake, and the Preservation of his tender People, Praises and Honour be given to his great Name, now and for ever. Thus ended this Engagement betwixt a poor Servant of Christ, and a *grand Apostate*, who appeared to fight against Reason, Sense and Conscience. Think not, my Friends, the Account too long, for it hath seem'd to me, for some time, a Debt due to my Brethren, and a piece of Justice to the Memory of *George Keith*, for his *Wickedness*, *Revolting*, and sad *Apostacy*. Few there are who can believe how great the Power of Darkness and Wickedness of that Mind and Spirit was, which possessed and breathed through him; so great it was, that even the considerate and sober People said, *they did not think that* George Keith *had been so wicked a Man as they now found he was upon Trial.* Courteous Friend and Reader, hold fast that which thou hast receiv'd, that none may take thy Crown, for it is laid up in Store for the Righteous only, and such who hold out to the End, in the same pure Righteousness which is of Christ wrought and continued in Man, by the Operation and Indwelling of his holy Spirit, as Man abideth in Subjection and Obedience to the Leadings and Dictates thereof.

I told *George*, that *I was much ashamed of his* complimenting *Great People*; for I observed he sometimes

times ſaid *thee* and *thou*, and ſometimes *you*, and *Si* ſometimes put his *Hat off*, and ſometimes *kept it on* I told him, *before I would be ſo unhandy, if I intena ed to be* ceremonious, *I would have gone to School while, before I would ſhame myſelf as he had done.* I I have not wrote the *very Words*, in all my Account in the preceeding Pages, I have the *Subſtance:* An for a Concluſion, I had to ſay to *George Keith*, *Th Hand of the Lord was againſt him, and would follow him, unleſs he repented.*

This Account carries in it an Admonition to us, and to Friends in future Ages, into whoſe Hands it may come, to beware of letting in the Spirit of *Envy*, *Prejudice*, and *Pride of Heart*, which I clearly ſaw was that which, with too much leaning to his *natural Abilities* and *Learning*, was his *Overthrow*, he not keeping to the Lord's holy Spirit, the Life and Strength of his faithful People, and the Key of true Knowledge, the good Remembrancer, and Leader into all Truth, which the Lord ſees meet in his Wiſdom to open and lead us into; without the Help of which Anointing and holy Spirit, we are apt to be cold and forgetful in our Duties towards God, and alſo in our Love and Duties one to another; but as the Meaſure of this Spirit is faithfully kept to, and improved, we grow more and more fruitful in every good Work and Word, to the Glory of God and Comfort of our Souls, and, as the Salt of the Earth, help to ſeaſon thoſe who are not ſeaſoned.

When I was in the Yearly-meeting upon *Rhode-Iſland*, there was a Query concerning what Friends might do, in caſe there ſhould be a Lay or Tax laid upon

pon the Inhabitants for building ſome Fortifications, and to provide Men and Arms for the Security f the Iſland? Such a Thing being then in Agitation, e, who was one of the chief Friends concerned in Church-Affairs, would have me give an Account what we did in the like Caſe in *England*; for, he aid, they in that Country looked upon themſelves ut as the *Daughter*, and Friends here in *Old-England* as their *Mother*, and they were willing to act conſiſtent with us as far as they could, and would know how we did there in that Matter, whether we could pay to that Tax which was for carrying on a vigorous War againſt *France?* I was unwilling to meddle with it, as I ſaid; but the Meeting waited a conſiderable time for my Anſwer (as one told me) and was not willing to go forward without it; at laſt, when I could not well do otherwiſe, I ſignified to that large Meeting, *That I had heard the Matter debated both in ſuperior and inferior Meetings, and privately, and the moſt general Reſult was this:* Friends did not ſee an effectual Door opened to avoid the Thing, that Tax being mixed with the other Taxes; *although many Friends are not ſo eaſy as they could deſire: Neither have we any further Sway in the Government, than only giving our Voices for ſuch as are concerned therein; therefore, as Things appear to me, there is a great Diſparity between our Circumſtances and yours here; for you have a great Intereſt here, and a great Share in the Government, and perhaps may put ſuch a Thing by in voting, conſidering the Body of Friends, and ſuch as are friendly, whom you have an Intereſt in; therefore look not for Help from the* Mother,

ther, *wherein she is not capable of helping herself, and thereby neglect your own Business; but mind your own Way in the Truth, and look not out.* Friends appeared well satisfied with these Distinctions, and it gave me some Ease, in that I had not hurt any.

During my Stay in one of the *Jerseys*, a great Weight, more than usual, seized upon my Spirit, as I sat in a Meeting, under a Sense of the same, my Cries ascended unto the Lord, the Fountain of all tender Mercies, that he would please to *shew me* what was the Cause of that great Power of Darkness which did so oppress my Spirit; and it pleased the Lord to *shew me*, that a Man there had been guilty of some *gross Wickedness*; and when it appear'd clear to me, to be required of me to express it publickly, it became a very great Exercise to me, and some Reasonings I had, before I gave up to make it publick to that large Meeting of Friends and other People; I laboured under it till towards the Conclusion of the Meeting, but finding my Peace concerned very nearly in the Matter, I stood up in the Gallery and said, *under a Sense of some gross Wickedness committed by some Person not far from me, hath my Spirit been borne down; which Wickedness will in a short Time break forth to the Dishonour of Truth, and Grief of Friends.* A great Man who sat in the Gallery by me, started up and seated himself upon the Rail of the Gallery, with his Eyes fixed on me, and I fastned, in the Lord's Dread, my Eyes on him, and said, *We have a common Maxim in old* England, *Touch a gall'd Horse's Back, and he will kick*, and I am of the Opinion, *he that kicks is not clear.* He got down

as

as fast as he could out of my way, for he not only prevented me from the View of the Meeting by sitting there, but his Uncleanness stood much in the way of my Service.

After the Meeting was over, several worthy Friends express'd to me the great Concern they were under, lest he should either by Money, or by Subtilty, conceal the Sin and Wickedness, if such was committed; for I found there was a great Fear and Jealousy in the Minds of Friends, that something was wrong with the Man, but I was 'till then altogether a Stranger to their Thoughts, and to the State of the Man; yet I advised that Friends should have a watchful Eye over him and his Family, for I told Friends, *my Spirit was easy in what I had delivered, and I believed the Evil would not be concealed.* So in my Return, his House-keeper had brought forth a Child, and charged him with being the Father of it, which he denied not: Friends then asked me, what they should do in the Case? I said, *Let the Judgment of Truth go forth against all manifest Wickedness, without respect of Persons, that the ever-blessed Truth, and such as live in it, may be kept clear and in good Esteem before all Men as much as may be.*

Something of the like Exercise I met with in a Meeting in *Pennsylvania*, repeating several Times *what Oppression my Spirit was under, because of some yet hidden Wickedness, which in a short Time would be brought to light, to the Blemish of the Truth, and great Trouble to Friends.* That very Evening, after the Meeting, a Woman little thought on by Friends to be guilty of such a Crime, went to a worthy Friend

and told him, *She was the Woman that had done that great Wickedneſs I had ſo much complained of, and had borne ſuch a great Load becauſe thereof*; and, as the honeſt Friend ſaid, ſhe wept bitterly, even in the very Anguiſh of her Soul. He came twelve Miles the next Day to *Philadelphia*, to acquaint me with the Matter, and aſk my Advice, which I gave to this Effect; *If Friends find upon Enquiry, in the proper Seaſon, that the Woman continues heartily ſorry, and truly penitent for what ſhe hath done, for* Godly Sorrow worketh Repentance, *and if from ſuch a hearty and penitent Senſe* (which is to be felt beyond Words) *ſhe gave forth a Paper againſt her wicked Doings, not ſo much to ingratiate herſelf into Favour, as for the clearing of Truth and Friends, and for the Eaſe and Peace of her own Mind, and took the Blame and Shame to herſelf, then Friends may paſs it by; if not, Friends muſt ſet the Judgement of Truth over manifeſt Wickedneſs*, as before mentioned.

I went to viſit a Meeting in that Part called *North-Wales*, which had not been long planted in that Place, where there was a fine tender People, but few underſtanding *Engliſh*, *Rowland Ellis* was my Interpreter; a good Meeting it was, and Truth was over all: Some, by the Interpreter, expreſſed their great Satisfaction in our Viſit to that Meeting, which heretofore had not been counted as Friends, but ſince that have been taken Notice of, and grown into good Eſteem with the Body of Friends.

I found it much my Work to be concerned in the *Diſcipline* of the Church, which was very low in many Places, yet I found there was a Willingneſs in many

many Friends Minds to be helped in that needful Affair, for ſurely it is a good Fence, or a Help to keep the Righteous in, and hurtful and wicked Things and Doings out, if the ſame be rightly handled, and extended as it ought to be, in the Love and Wiſdom of God.

There was one Thing I had like to have omitted, which happened when I was in *Rhode-Iſland*, viz. one *Rogers* came thither *to offer* (as he ſaid) *his Gift in the Yearly-meeting amongſt Friends*; but they appearing in a great Strait about him, although he had writ in Behalf of Truth's Principles, and ſuffered Impriſonment, and the taking away his Wife from him, and was not ſo much as ſuffered to come to converſe with his own Son, but under a Guard or Watch which was ſet over him, to hear what paſſed betwixt them, as he told me and ſome other Friends, which Friends ſaid *was true*; yet, under the Conſideration of the Matter, and Clearneſs of the Man's Converſation, Friends remained in a Strait *what to do*; and deſired that I would take the Matter upon me, and reaſon the Caſe with him, and try if I could perſuade him to be eaſy, and not inſiſt upon any ſuch Thing, as *to promiſe to receive his Gift*; for otherwiſe, he ſaid, *he would go where it would be received.* I ſhewed him, that it was a Thing impracticable amongſt us, and in itſelf unreaſonable, that we ſhould be by any Pre-engagement obliged to receive that which he might call *a Gift*, before we heard it; if he believed he had a Gift, he might ſpeak, and, as the Apoſtle ſaid, *we might judge:* For it was not impoſſible but he, who was a Scholar and a wiſe Man, and had

had a ſtrong Memory, might have gathered certain Paſſages out of the Bible or other Books, with what other Interpretations he might have ſtored up, and ſpeak of, and call *a Gift*, which we could not receive as *a real Gift of the Miniſtry*, which ſtands *in the Spirit* and *in the Power*, and if it be ſuch, it will make way for itſelf; if not, *we cannot receive it*. So he went away, and troubled Friends no more that I heard of.

When I was at *William Penn*'s Country-Houſe, called *Penſbury*, in *Pennſylvania*, where I ſtaid two or three Days, on one of which I was at a Meeting and a Marriage, and much of the other Part of the Time I ſpent in ſeeing (to my Satisfaction) *William Penn* and many of the *Indians*, (not the leaſt of them) in Council and Conſultation concerning their former Covenants, now again reviv'd upon *William Penn*'s going away for *England*; all which was done in much Calmneſs of Temper and in an amicable way. To paſs by ſeveral particulars, I may mention the following; one was, *they never firſt broke Covenant with any People*; for, as one of them ſaid, and ſmote his Hand upon his Head three times, that *they did not make them there in their Heads*, but ſmiting his Hand three times on his Breaſt, ſaid *they made them* (*i. e.* their Covenants) *there in their Hearts*. And again, when *William Penn* and they had ended the moſt weighty Parts for which they held their Council, *William Penn* gave them Match Coats and ſome other Things, with ſome Brandy or Rum, or both; which was adviſed by the Speaker for the *Indians*, to be put into the Hand of one of their Caſſacks or

Kings

tings, *for he knew the beſt how to order them*; which eing done, the ſaid King uſed no Compliments, either did the People, nor the reſt of their Kings; ut as the aforeſaid King poured out his Drams, he nly made a Motion with his Finger, or ſometimes vith his Eye, to the Perſon which he intended to ive the Dram to; ſo they came quietly and in a olid manner, and took their Drams, and paſſed way without either Nod or Bow, any further than Neceſſity required them to ſtoop, who were on their Feet, to him who ſat on the Ground or Floor, as their Choice and Manner is: And withal I obſerved (and alſo heard the like by others) that they did not, nor I ſuppoſe never do ſpeak, two at a time, nor interfere in the leaſt one with another that way in all their Councils, as has been obſerved. Their Eating and Drinking was in much Stillneſs and Quietneſs.

I much deſire that all *Chriſtians* (whether they may be ſuch in Reality or Profeſſion only) may endeavour to imitate theſe People in thoſe Things which are ſo commendable, which may be a Means to prevent Loſs of Time and expedite Buſineſs; as much as may be endeavouring to prevent above one ſpeaking at a time in Meetings of Conference and of Buſineſs.

When much of the Matters were gone through, I put *William Penn* in mind to enquire of the Interpreter, if he could find ſome Terms or Words that might be intelligible to them, in a religious Senſe, by which he might reach the Underſtandings of the Natives, and inculcate into their Minds a Senſe of

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the Principles of Truth, such as *Christ's manifesti himself to the inward Senses of the Soul, by his Li Grace or holy Spirit*, with the Manner *of the Oper tions and working thereof in the Hearts of the Childr of Men, and how it did reprove for Evil, and mini ter Peace and Comfort to the Soul in its Obedience a Well-doing*; or, as near as he could, come to th Substance of this in their own Language. *Willia Penn* much pressed the Matter upon the Interpret to do his best, in any Terms, that might reach the Capacities, and Answer the End intended: But th Interpreter would not, either by reason, as he alledg ed, of *Want of Terms*, or his *Unwillingness* t meddle in religious Matters, which I know no but I rather think the latter was the main Reaso which obstructed him; therefore we found nothing was like to be done according to our Desires in thi Matter, as the Interpreter was but a dark Man, and as *William Penn* said, *a wrong Man for our presen Purpose.*

William Penn said, he understood they owned a *superior Power*, and asked the Interpreter, *What their Notion was of God in their own Way?* The Interpreter shewed, by making several Circles on the Ground with his Staff, till he reduced the last into a small Circumference, and placed, as he said, by way of Representation, the *great Man* (as they termed him) in the middle Circle, so that he could see over all the other Circles, which included all the Earth. And we querying, *What they owned as to* Eternity, *or a* future State? The Interpreter said, they believed when such died as were guilty of

Theft,

neft, Swearing, Lying, Whoring, Murder, &c. ey went into a very cold Country, where they had ither good fat Veniſon, nor Match Coats, which what they uſe inſtead of Cloaths to cover them thal, being of one piece in the form of a Blanket Bed-covering: But thoſe who died clear of the oreſaid Sins, go into a fine warm Country, where ey had good fat Veniſon and good Match Coats, hings much valued by theſe Natives. I thought, aſmuch as theſe poor Creatures had not the Knowdge of God by the Scriptures, as we have who e called *Chriſtians*, but what Knowledge they had the *ſupreme Being* muſt be by an inward Senſation, by contemplating upon the Works of God in the reation, or probably from ſome Tradition handed own from Father to Son, by which it apppars, they cknowledge a future State of *Rewards* and *Puniſhents*; the former of which they expreſs by *Warmth ood Cloathing* and *Food*, and the latter by *Nakedneſs ining Hunger* and *piercing Cold*. I have often hought and ſaid, when I was amongſt them, that enerally my Spirit was very eaſy, and I did not eel that Power of Darkneſs to oppreſs me, as I had one in many Places among the People called *Chriſtians*.

After *William Penn* and they had expreſs'd their atisfaction, both for themſelves and their People, n keeping all their former Articles unviolated, and greed that if any particular Differences did happen mongſt any of their People, they ſhould not be an Occaſion of fomenting or creating any War between *William Penn*'s People and the *Indians*, but Juſtice ſhould

ſhould be done in all ſuch Caſes, that all Animoſi ties might be prevented on all Sides for ever; the went out of the Houſe into an open Place not fa from it, to perform their *Cantico* or *Worſhip*, whicl was done thus; Firſt, they made a ſmall Fire, an the Men without the Women ſat down about it i a Ring, and whatſoever Object they ſeverally fixe their Eyes on, I did not ſee them move them in all that Part of their Worſhip, while they ſang a very melodious Hymn, which affected and tendered th Hearts of many who were Spectators: When they had thus done, they began (as I ſuppoſe is their u-ſual manner) to beat upon the Ground with little Sticks, or make ſome Motion with ſomething in their Hands, and pauſe a little, till one of the elder Sort ſets forth his Hymn; and that being followed by the Company for a few Minutes, and then a pauſe; and then the like was done by another, and by a third, and followed by the Company, as at the firſt; which ſeemed exceedingly to affect them and others. Having done, they roſe up and danced a little about the Fire, and parted with ſome Shouting like a Triumph or Rejoicing.

I leave *Penſbury*, but intend, before I leave the *Indians*, to ſay ſomething more concerning that People, which I met with near *Caleb Puſy*'s Houſe in *Pennſylvania*, viz. I being walking in the Wood, eſpied ſeveral Wigwams or Houſes of the *Indians*, and drew towards them, but could not converſe with them; but looking over them in the Love of God, I found it to be my Way, as I apprehended, to look for an Interpreter and go to them again, which

which I did; and when I came to them, and signified that I was come from a far Country, with a Meſſage from the *great Man* above (as they call God) and my Meſſage was to endeavour to perwade them, *that they ſhould not be Drunkards, nor Theal, nor kill one another, nor fight, nor commit Adultery, nor put away their Wives, eſpecially for ſmall Faults*; which (as I underſtood) is uſual with them o do; *for if they did thoſe Things, the great and good Man above would be angry with them, and would not proſper them, but bring Trouble on them*; *but if they more careful to refrain theſe Evils* (before mentioned) *hen would God love them, and proſper them, and ſpeak Peace to them*; or very near to theſe Words. And when the Interpreter expreſſed theſe Things to them in their own Language, they wept, and Tears ran down their naked Bodies, and they ſmote their Hands upon their Breaſts, and I perceived ſaid ſomething to the Interpreter: I aſked *what they ſaid?* He told me they ſaid, *all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the great Man had ſent me, I could not have told them thoſe Things.* I deſired the Interpreter to aſk them, *how they knew what I had ſaid to them was good?* they reply'd, and ſmote their Hands on their Breaſts, *the good Man here* (meaning in their Hearts) *told them what I had ſaid was all good.* They manifeſted much Love to me in their Way, and I believe the Love of God is to them, and all People, in the Day of their Viſitation.

Having left them, I came to a Friend's Houſe in the lower Part of *Pennſylvania*, who was in the Office of a Juſtice of Peace, and had been convinced not

long before by *Thomas Story:* When I came into the Houſe, the Man's Wife was very uneaſy and called me *a Deceiver*, and wrung her Hands and ſaid, *Woe is me, I am undone, my Huſband is* deceived; *and what more Deceivers come?* Oh how ſhe lamented. I was ſomewhat ſtruck with the Paſſion the poor Woman was in, however, I ſaid little but ſat down, and after ſome time it roſe in my Mind to aſk her, *In what her Huſband was deceived; was he, ſince he came amongſt us, any worſe Huſband to her? if he was, it was a bad Sign;* or *was he a worſe Father to his Children?* or, *any worſe Neighbour?* or *in any particular Thing which ſhe could name, changed from better to worſe, ſince he was* conceived *of the Truth? if not, ſhe had no great Reaſon to complain: If he had turned* Drunkard, Whoremonger, Railer, Fighter, *or become a* vicious Man, *ſhe would have had Reaſon to complain;* but ſhe honeſtly owned, *ſhe had nothing to charge him with.* He ſat by me and heard all our Diſcourſe, but ſaid nothing. I told her, *ſhe had made a lamentable Outcry about her Huſband's being* deceived, *but had not convinced me of any Cauſe that ſhe had received from her Huſband for her ſore complaint.*

Being weary, having rid a great way that Day, I with my Companion *Richard Orm* took leave of her Huſband and went to our Reſt, and ſaw him no more till the next Day in the Evening, and when he came, I aſked him, *For what Reaſon he left us ſo long, as he knew how uneaſy his Wife was about us, and that we had a great want of him?* He ſaid, *he had been giving Notice of the Meeting twenty Miles one way, and two Men given Notice as far, each Man his way;* that was Six-ſcore Miles in and out. Our

Our Landlady, againſt we roſe in the Morning, ad got another Woman, a Juſtice's Wife, to help er to diſpute with us, and overthrow us, as ſhe oped, but in vain; for Truth proved too hard for hem; although the other Woman charged high in he Morning, and ſaid, *we were no* Chriſtians. I aid, *it was eaſier to charge than to prove; how do you rove it? Becauſe*, ſaid they, *you deny the precious Ordinance of Jeſus Chriſt.* I aſked, *if they could prove t to be ſuch?* They ſaid, *they did not queſtion but they ould.* I ſaid, *they ſhould do it from plain Texts of Scripture, verbatim as it lies, without any Inferences, Conſequences, or Comments upon the Places they inſiſted upon*; and they agreed to it. *But, in Caſe*, I told hem, *they ſhould fail and not prove* (as they thought hey could) *that* Ordinance *to be ſo appointed by Chriſt, I hoped then they would allow us to be* Chriſtians, *notwithſtanding what they had charged to the contrary*; and they ſaid, *they would.*

I then repeated all the Preliminaries, and aſked them, *if they would agree to each particular?* they ſaid, *they would.* I deſired *Richard Orm* to mind them, and imprint them as much as might be in his Memory, for it was like enough we ſhould have Occaſion to call them in Queſtion before we had done, which came to paſs not long after we began; they urged the 28th of *Matthew* in defence of Water Baptiſm, where Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, *Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt: Teaching them to obſerve all Things whatſoever I have commanded you: And lo I am with you alway,*

alway, even unto the End of the World. Water no being mention'd the Diſputants were at a ſtand, an ſaid *it muſt be implied*: I ſhewed them, that by thei Agreement to the Preliminaries, there were to b no Inferences, but plain Scripture. I told them, *i was an unreaſonable Thing to undertake to* unchriſtia *a great Body of religious People by a few Inferences which might be true, or not true.* Now when we hac tugg'd at it, and ſearched the New Teſtament a great while, they could not find what they deſir'd, although they urged what *Peter* ſaid in a certain Caſe, *Who can forbid Water, that theſe ſhould not be baptized, who have received the holy Ghoſt as well as we?* I ſhewed them, *that there was a great Diſparity between a* Servant's *Queſtion, and a* Maſter's *Command.* When they were even weary with ſearching, and could not find a poſitive Ordination by Chriſt for *Water-Baptiſm*, they gave it over, and I aſked them, *If they had not fallen ſhort of the Proof of what they had ſo boldly charged upon us in the Morning?* My Landlady confeſſed, *they had fallen ſhort of their Expectation*; but the other *was in the Mind*, as ſhe ſaid, *that it might be proved:* I told her, *ſhe would not prove it from any plain Text of Scripture.*

My paſſionate Landlady became more meek and friendly, and received the Truth in the Love of it: We had a good Meeting the next Day, and ſhe ſaid, *If I would ſtay that Night, I ſhould be as welcome as her own Children; but if not, ſhe bleſt the Lord for my Company, and the Good ſhe had already received by me,* and parted with me in much Brokenneſs of Heart; and I heard ſhe lived and died in good Unity with Friends.

friends. But oh, how glad was her Husband to see that great and sudden Change wrought in her! it was the Lord's Doings; to him be the Praise now and for ever, for he alone is worthy.

I had many comfortable Meetings in my Travels through these Provinces, and good Service. We were at a Yearly-meeting at *Tredhaven*, in *Maryland*, upon the Eastern Shore, to which Meeting for Worship came with *William Penn*, Lord *Baltimore* and his Lady, with their Retinue, but it was late when they came, and the Strength and Glory of the heavenly Power of the Lord was going off from the Meeting; so the Lady was much disappointed, as understood by *William Penn*, for she told him, *She did not want to hear him, and such as he, for he was a Scholar and a wise Man, and she did not question but he could preach; but she wanted to hear some of our* Mechanicks *preach as* Husbandmen, Shoe-makers *and such like* Rusticks; *for she thought they could preach to any Purpose. William Penn* told her, *some of these were rather the best Preachers we had amongst us*; or near these Words. I was a little in their Company, and I thought the Lady to be a notable, wise, and withall a courteously carriaged Woman. I was also in Company with the Governor of *Virginia*, at our Friend *Richard John*'s House, upon the West Cliffs, in *Maryland*, for we both lodged there one Night, and I heard that he had been studious in a Book against Friends, called *the Snake*, and Friends greatly desired he might have the Answer called *the Switch*, but knew not how to be so free with him as to offer it to him; I told Friends, *I would*

would endeavour to make way for it. Altho' he ha
ſeemed to be a Man of few Words, yet at
ſuitable Intervail I ſaid to him, *I had heard that I*
had ſeen a Book called the Snake in the Graſs; h
confeſs'd *he had.* I deſired *he would accept of* th
Anſwer, *and be as ſtudious in it as he had been in* th
Snake; which he promiſed *he would*, and took th
Book.

There happen'd a Paſſage worthy of Note, eithe
in this or the proceeding Governor's Time in *Virgi-*
nia, as I was credibly informed, which was thus
The Governor wanted a *Cooper* to mend his Wine
Syder and Ale Caſks, and ſome told him there wa
a Workman near, but he was a *Quaker*; he ſaid, i
he was a Workman he made no Matter what he
profeſs'd; ſo the *Quaker*, ſuch as he was, was ſent
for, and came with his Hat under his Arm: The
Governor was ſomewhat at a ſtand to ſee the Man
come in after that Manner, and aſked *If he was the*
Cooper *he had ſent for?* He ſaid, *Yes. Well*, ſaid
the Governor, *are not you a* Quaker? *Yes*, replyed
the Man, *I am ſo called, but I have not been* faithful.
He then aſked, *How long have you been called a* Qua-
ker? The poor Man ſaid, *About twenty Years. Alas*
for you, poor Man, ſaid the Governor, *I am ſorry*
for you.

By this we may clearly ſee, that ſuch who walk
moſt up to what they profeſs, are in moſt Eſteem
among the more thinking and religious People; and
the unfaithful and looſe libertine Profeſſors of the
Truth are ſlighted, and I believe will be more and
more caſt out as the *unſavory Salt*, which is good

for

nought in Religion, and is indeed trodden under Feet of Men; for a great Part of the Men in the World have such an Understanding as to know what we profess, and also what we should do and be in many Things; let us therefore walk wisely before them, and not be *an Occasion* of *stumbling*, nor *give Offence* either to *Jew* or *Gentile*, nor to the *Church of God*, that so we may indeed be *as a City set upon an Hill, which cannot be hid*; nay, that may not desire to be hid, but rather that the Inhabitants of the Earth might see our good Works, and have an Occasion from thence administred, *to glorify the Father which in Heaven.*

I having it on my Mind to visit a Meeting up the River called *Parquimus*, on the West Side of the great River *Choptank*, and I being on the East Side, *Henry Hosier* and some more Friends set forwar with me in a small Boat, not in good Condition but crazy, with only one small Sail; We set out, as we thought, in good time to reach our desired Port, but when we were upon the great River (as I remember its ten Miles over the shortest way, but the manner of our crossing it made it more) the Wind veered much against us, being then within about four Points of our Course, and it rained hard, and was very dark, so that we could scarce see one another, and the Water broke so into the Boat, that it was most of one Man's Work to heave it out, and our Company were discouraged, and most of them very Sea-sick: *Henry Hosier*, of whom I had the most Hopes for Help, said, *that he could not steer the Boat any longer.* What by the extream Darkness,

neſs, the Roughneſs of the Waves, Boiſterouſne of the Wind, and hard Rain, I, unwell as I wa was obliged to undertake the ſteering of the Boa and not without ſome Conflicts of Mind, not havin any Certainty, from any outward Rule, what Wa we went; having no Fire, and the Boat being open we could not have any Light to ſee our Compaſ but my Faith was in the Lord, that he would brin us to ſhore; and I kept the Boat as near the Win as ſhe would ſail, and told my poor ſick and help leſs Company, *I believed that we ſhould not periſh although we might miſs of our Port*: But the like im minent Danger, I think, I never was in before upo any Water; but renowned over all be the grea Name of the Lord for ever, we put into the Mouth of our deſired River *Perquimus*, as tho' we had ſeen for in the Day, or ſteer'd by a Compaſs, neither o which we had the Benefit of for ſeveral Hours.

Here we went aſhore and made a great Fire un der the River's Cliff, and about Midnight the Moon roſe, and clear'd up and froze, and was very cold: My Companions falling aſleep, I turned them over, and pulled them from the Fire as it increaſed, and put them nearer as it failed, but could not keep them awake; I ſought Logs of Wood, and carried them to and minded the Fire, which was Work enough for the remaining Part of the Night; but Morning being come, we got into our cold icy Boat and ſail ed away towards the Meeting. When we were come among Friends, Notice was given of a Stranger being there, and a heavenly and ſweet Meeting it was, ſo that we thought we had a good Reward

or all our Trouble, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord now and for ever, for he is worthy: Although he may ſee good to try us, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, how ſhould we know that we have any Faith, if it be not tried? How ſhall we know that we have any true Love to God, if it never be proved? The Trial of the true Believers Faith is more precious than Gold. The excellent Sayings of *Job*, came into my Mind, *Behold, I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him; on the left Hand, where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: He hideth himſelf on the right Hand, that I cannot ſee him*, Job xxiii. 8, 9. And then in Verſe the 10th, he, like a Man in the true Faith, ſaith, *The Lord knoweth the Way that I take; and when he has tried me, I ſhall come forth as Gold:* And the more vehement that the Fire is, the more it deſtroys the Droſs, and the more pure and weighty the Gold is, which hath paſt through the moſt ſevere Fires. Read thou, and underſtand this, that canſt.

I had a Meeting when in *Virginia*, at a Friend's Houſe whoſe Name was *Matthew Jordon*, and ſome thing which I ſaid in the Meeting, ſomewhat offended a young Woman a *Preſbyterian*, and not having, as ſhe ſaid, a ſuitable Opportunity while I was there, to diſcourſe with me, being buſy in her Maſter's Affairs, (for ſhe was the Friend's Houſe-keeper) ſhe deſired Liberty of her Maſter to go to the next Meeting, that there ſhe might eaſe her Mind to me about the Offence I had given her in the firſt Meeting; (it was ſomething about *Election*,

and they told me what it was, but not writing it down it went from me) and accordingly she came to the Meeting, where the Lord's mighty Power broke in upon us, to the tendring of many Hearts, to Friends mutual Satisfaction, and it proved a good Day to the aforesaid young Woman; her Heart was as if it had melted within her, and she shed many Tears, and I am satisfied went from the Meeting in Fear and in great Joy; in *Fear*, how to walk as not to offend Christ the *Elect*, which before she could talk of, but now she had met with, and he had opened her State to her: And *Joy*, that she had met with the Messiah, the *Elect of the Father*, his choice and beloved Son; so that she could now say, *Where are the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World?* All her brisk talkative Qualities were swallowed up in the feeling of the internal, enlightning Presence of Christ.

When she returned to her Master's (before mentioned) he asked her, *If she had got Satisfaction?* meaning, Had she had any Discourse with me and was satisfied? She replied, *She was satisfied.* Some time after I met with her in *Philadelphia*, plain and Truth-like, but knew not who she was at the first. The Manner of the Working of the Truth is to humble the Creature, and bring it into Contrition, Tenderness, and Fear, with true Self-denial.

I come now to mention something that happened in my going over *James's River*, towards a Yearly-meeting in *Virginia:* Alighting at an Inn by the River-side, where we refreshed ourselves, there was a poor little Child cried so exceedingly, that I was uneasy

uneasy to here it, and asked the Mother, what was the Matter? She said, it had cried most of the Time since it was born, and they were almost off their Feet with it, or to that effect. I told her, I believed I could give the Child something which would do good, and she readily agreed to it, and I gave it a little of something then, and order'd her to give it twice more in four or five Days time: But when I returned the Child was better, and oh! how glad the poor Woman was to see me, and spoke more in my Commendations than was to my Satisfaction, and was kind to Friends afterward for my Sake.

Now we came to ferry over the River, being, as I remember, five Horses and nine People; there was *Jane Pleasant* a publick Friend, and her Manservant who rid before her upon a great Horse, and high in Flesh, and about the Midst of the River, it being two Miles over, he rose upon his hind Feet, and flung himself upon the Edge or Gunnel of the Boat, half into the River; the Fall of the Horse, and the Motion of the other Horses thereupon, caused the Boat to make such Sallies that it took in Water, and was very likely to sink: But before he could have Time to rise again, or to make any more Springs, I took several young Men by the Shoulders, and flung them upon his Neck to keep him down, and told them, as fast as I could, why I did so. Now I had to deal with the Ferry-man, who was about to strip for swimming, and said *we should all be drowned; but for his Part he could swim*; and was about to leap into the River, *for*, he said, *the Boat would either break or sink.* I told him *It was*

soon

soon enough for him to swim, when he saw the Boat either break or sink, and if he would not row, then I would: With much Intreaty he took the Oar again and rowed us to the Shore. But in our imminent Danger I looked over my tender Friends, (for so they appeared to me) and thought in my Heart what a Pity it would be, if all these were drowned! yet the Thought of my own drowning never enter'd my Mind, until I was got over the River, which was a Mercy to me, and a great Means to keep out Disorder and Confusion, which commonly attend sudden Surprizes and Frights, or else they make People dead-hearted and almost senseless.

As I had now an Occasion to observe, as well as in some imminent Dangers I had seen before, where I happened to be, I find it an excellent Thing to be, as much as we can, always ready, and by being frequently thinking upon Death, it is not so surprizing when it does come: This is a great Point of true Wisdom, *to remember our Days so, as to remember our latter End.* The want of thus contemplating and truly thinking on what Preparation we are in to look Death in the Face, and to appear before the great Judge of both Quick and Dead, was the Cause of the Complaint, *Oh! that my People were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter End.* The great Remisness of such Considerations among People, bespeaks Folly and great Insensibility, and that the Heart is hardened through an Habit of sinning; oh! that I might prevail with the Children of Men to awake. Arise, you that sleep in Sin, and are at ease therein, that you may come

to

o hear inwardly the Call of the Son of God, that your Souls may not only live here to ſerve God, but alſo may live eternally in Bliſs with him, is the Deſire of my Soul for the whole Bulk of Mankind; for my Life has often appear'd not dear to me, in Compariſon of the ſaving of the Souls of the Children of Men.

I have often thought of *Moſes*, how far he went for ſaving of *Iſrael*, and how far *Paul* went for the ſaving of his Kinsfolk after the Fleſh; it was a great Demonſtration, that theſe great and good Men had great Faith and Intereſt in the Lord, and alſo a very great Love to his People; and ſuch whoſe Eyes are truly opened, cannot but ſee it is the Love of God, and Love to the Souls of Men, that conſtrains us thus to take our Lives as in our Hands, and labour under many weary Steps, and many Perils, by Sea and by Land, and in the Wilderneſs, Cold, and ſometimes in Tumults and Noiſes, ſometimes in Watchings and Faſtings, that we have been ſometimes Spectacles to Men; but the Lord hath given us Faith and Patience to bear and overcome all, as we have ſingly ſtood in his heavenly Council, and been truly devoted to his Will in all Things.

It may not be amiſs to mention a particular thing which happened to me before I left *Long-Iſland*, viz. Knowing that my Landlady, *Samuel Bowne*'s Wife, had a very ſore Breaſt, by which ſhe had much Trouble, and had no leſs than five Tents in it, and ſhe being a ſenſible and a ſerviceable Woman, ſomething came with a Concern upon my Mind to adminiſter unto her Breaſt, with a Belief *it would heal her*:

her: I reaſon'd about it until I had got one Foo into the Stirrup for mounting my Horſe, but I grev uneaſy for being dilatory in doing that which cam into my Mind; ſo I went in again and ſaid, *Mary I am come back to adviſe thee what thou ſhouldſt do, b which, I believe* thou wilt be healed, *although I cannot ſtay to ſee it done. I believe*, ſaid ſhe, *and intend to follow thy Advice*; but aſked, *what would becom of all thoſe Tents?* I told her, *the Poultice would draw them all out, and give her Eaſe*; and accordingly I heard it did, for ſhe ſlept twelve Hours immediately after the Time of the Application, and when ſhe awoke the Tents were all drawn out, and ſhe had little further Trouble with it: So it is good to mind Truth and the Workings of it in all Things. I met with the great Doctor (as he was eſteemed) who had it under hand, and he ſaid, *I was a bold Fellow*: I ſaid, *it proved well*, He Anſwered, *it was well for me it did.*

Something more which I have before omitted occurs to my Memory: When I was in that Part of *Virginia* towards *North-Carolina*, to viſit Friends, a very great Miſt aroſe, and we went wrong, until the Guides were ſo far loſt, that they confeſt, they knew not Eaſt from Weſt, nor on which Hand we had left the Road, although it was in the fore Part of the Day, but neither Wind or Sun to be felt or ſeen; then I told them, *I would try what I could do, if they did but know what Quarter we ſhould go to*: They ſaid, *we ſhould go towards the South*; then I brought out my little Compaſs which I had made before I left *England*, and took it in my Hand and

ſteer'd

:eer'd by it, till we all came into the Road; for hat inward Senſe I had, did perſuade me, that we vere to the Weſtward of the Road, ſo leaning a ittle to the Eaſtward of the South Point, we came ight as before, and when ſo, the Guides much re-oiced, and ſaid, *I was fitter to be Guide in a Wil-erneſs Country than they.* My Compaſs was not ſo ig as a *Tailor's* Thimble, which had often been of Uſe to me, and others with me.

Now the Time came on for my leaving all my near and dear Friends in thoſe Parts, and I embark'd for the Iſlands the Sixth of the *Ninth Month* 1702, with my Companion *James Bates*, on board of a Sloop, *Samuel Salter* Maſter, for *Barbados*, and we put into *Bermudas* in our way: Soon after we land-ed, being on the 21ſt of the ſame Month, we were ſent for by Governor *Bennett* to come before him, and being near his Door, a Man came and clapt me on the Shoulder, as we were walking on our way, and ſaid roughly to us, *You muſt go before the Gover-nor*, and ſeemed to haſten us: I replied meekly, *I am willing to go as faſt as I can, but I have been very Sea-ſick, and can go but weakly:* The Man fell from his Roughneſs, and bid us take Time, and carried himſelf very civily to us, and put us by a Man who was keeping Centry at the Governor's Door with his Muſket on his Arm, and when we were come into a large Room the Man left us, and we ſtaying a while, I began to reaſon in myſelf, *What if the Governor ſhould be a rigid Man and be ſevere to us, and either confine or puniſh us?* But I ſaid in my Heart, *Lord, thou that knoweſt all Things, knoweſt that*

that I have not only offered up my Liberty, but Li
alſo, for thy Name and Goſpel's ſake; and immed
ately the Fear and Reaſonings about human Pow
was taken away from me.

I being not well, and weary with walking fro
the Ship, ſat down to reſt myſelf unbidden, whe
there came a friendly well carriaged young Woma
who I ſuppoſed to be a Servant, and ſpoke kind
to us; I deſired her to do as much for us as to giv
us ſomething that was ſmall to drink, for we wer
very thirſty and had been much out of Health, an
were not well recovered ſince we came from the Se
having had rough Weather: She brought us Wi
and Water and a Thing to mix them in; ſo tak
ing moſt of a Glaſs of Water, and a very little Win
poured into it, I drank and was very well refreſhe
By this Time the Governor called us into an uppe
Room, and as I came near to the Top of the Stair
going but faintly, for Reaſons before given, the Go
vernor put forth his Hand and reached to take hol
of mine, and like a tender Father drew me up, an
led me along towards a great Window, and ſtoo
and looked on me and ſaid, *He believed he knew wh*
I was, and my buſineſs too, I reply'd *it might be ſ*
and aſked, *if he was the Governor of that Place?* H
ſaid *he was*, and bowed his Head. I then ſpoke t
him in the Love of God, and ſaid, *Thy Countenanc*
beſpeaks Moderation, and the Apoſtle ſaid, Let you
Moderation appear to all Men, for the Lord is a
hand; and it was with me to ſay to him, *The Lor*
of Heaven and Earth bleſs thee and all thine? H
bade us ſit down, and gave us each a Glaſs of Win
an

nd enquired *from whence we came?* I told him *my Home was in* Old England, *but it was long since I was there*; *my Companion's was in* Virginia. He wanting to know the Affairs in *Europe*, I told him, *There was a Merchant belonging to the same Ship that we did, who was lately come from* Europe, *and I thought was a Man of Parts and Memory, and well versed in the Affairs of those Parts of the World, and when we came into this Place he was with us:* The Governor then sent for him, and when he came, he answered his Expectation in resolving all or most of his Questions, for the Knowledge of the News appear'd to me to be the young Man's Talent. Having done with and dismiss'd him, he said, *he must now have some Discourse with us:* Then rose up all the great Men who were with the Governor, to make way that I might come near him. I said, *If it was the Governor's Mind, I had rather sit where I was, for I sat well in the Air, and that suited well with my present Weakness:* So he bade them all sit down, and they did so.

Now, said he, *I want to know the Reasons why you, as a People, where you live, do not assist the King and Country with Men and Arms, for their and your own Defence and Safety, against all that may attempt or endeavour your Hurt?* I replied, *The most convincing Reasons I have to offer to the Governor are, We have neither* Precept *nor* Example *from* Christ, *or his* Apostles, *to use the Sword to hurt one another withal. No*, said he, *what then means that Saying of our Saviours, when he bade him* that had not a Sword, sell his Cloak or Coat and buy one? I replied, *One of his*

Disciples answered and said, Lord here are two *Christ said*, It is enough. *Now how two Swords c be enough to answer for a general Precept, I leave t Governor and all these Men to judge.* So after a litt Pause he said, *In case you was assaulted by Robbe that would break your House, and take what they cou get from you ; or upon the High-way, and would ta your Purse or Horse, what would you do in that Case* I replied, *I could not directly answer what I should in such a Case, because through the Lord's Mercy I w never yet so assaulted ; but it appears most likely, th I should endeavour to keep my House from being broke up, and yet withal be tender of* Men's Lives : And to the other Assault, *inasmuch as it is well known do not provide any outward Weapon for my Defenc neither Sword, Pistol, nor any other such like Weapo therefore I must rely upon the* Lord for Protection an Help, *who is able to rescue me out of the Hands of a such ungodly Men ; or if he does not, I must endeavou to bear what the Lord* suffers *such to do unto me.* Th Governor said, *You say well ; for inasmuch as yo have not provided any thing for* your Defence, *yo have nothing to fly to but the* Lord ; *you say very well* and said, *he hoped what he had offer'd had not given an Offence,* I replied, *It was so far from that, we wer glad he was so free with us, yet if he pleased to dismi us, we should be willing to be going, for Night came on* He said, *There were some of our Friends would be gla to see us :* I replied, *I understood there were some fur- ther on the Island that did own us, but how much the were of us I could not tell, for I had not seen any of them* He asked, whether we had a mind to go by Wate

or

by Land, for he had a Boat, and a couple of hands ſhould carry us where we would; or if we had a Deſire to ride, he had two Horſes, we might take them and keep them as long as we ſtaid upon the Iſland. I endeavoured to perſwade him to let us go without troubling himſelf any further, for I was ſenſible of his good Will and Love to us, and having his Countenance, was more than we expected, and as much as we deſired. He ſtill urging to know after what Manner we would chooſe to go? I told him, I was very ſenſible of his Generoſity to us who were Strangers, and if he would be eaſy and let us go, we had wherewithal to defray our neceſſary charges either by Water or Land, as would anſwer beſt with our Conveniency. He preſſed upon us to accept of his Offer, for he ſaid, he did not do it in Compliment to us: Then ſeeing no way but to accept of his generous Offer, I ſaid, Riding at preſent would be much more acceptable to me, conſidering how I had been lately fatigued at Sea, of which I was not yet well. He immediately gave Orders for the Horſes to be brought to the Door, which being done, and we having Notice thereof, I roſe up and made an Offer to go, and the Governor likewiſe roſe up and came and took me by the Hand, and ſo we went down the large Stairs into the great Room where we firſt entered in the Lord's Dread and holy Fear. Read this thou that canſt, and withal learn to underſtand, here I had reſigned my Life and all to the Lord who gave it, and my Life at that time, as at many other times, was not dear to me for Chriſt's ſake; and being thus reſigned, I felt the Love

Love of God, and a Measure of that Life was manifest, in which I had Dominion over Men, Bonds and over Death and the Powers of Darkness, blessed be the Lord for ever.

Now coming to take Horse, I looked out at the Door and saw two Horses, and a Man holding them beyond the Pavement, and the Centry as before in the Street, and the Horse next the Door, which I supposed I was to ride on, had a Saddle on the Back of it set about with three Rows of shining Silver Lace, I thought about two Inches broad each: The Governor holding me by the Hand and looking in my Face, its not unlikely but he might think, as I used to say, *I looked very sheepishly at it.* He said to me, I am apt to think you are not used to ride upon such a Saddle as this; I told him, if he could let me have one more like myself (plain) without much Trouble, I should like it the better, but if not, I could ride on it, I thought without much Straitness, in Case of Necessity. He answered, he could not, for Horses and Saddles too were scarce on that Island, for the one was that which he rode on, and the other was for his Man; but he said, he would tell me how to prevent all this: If, said he, you get over the Inlet of Water, though he questioned it, because the Wind blew very strong in the Mouth or Inlet of the River; but, he said, he spoke not this to hinder our taking his Horses; but if we got over, he said we should come to *Richard Stafford's*, an old Judge of Life and Death, and might ask there for the Cover for his Saddle, which ties on with little Straps at each Corner, and hides all this, and then it will be

lik-

ke yourſelf ; but if the Ferry-man, ſays he cannot arry the Horſes over, what Man ſoever you meet, white or black, if capable, tell him he muſt bring he my Horſes, he dares do no other but bring them ; nd be ſure you take no further Thought for them : And if we met with any Thing in his Liberty that night trouble us, let him but know and he would help it, if it lay in his Power ; and ſo with his Bleſ-ing on us, we took leave of him and came to the Water-ſide, but could not get the Horſes over, therefore ſent them back again, and intended to have ſtaid at the Ferry-houſe all Night, but the Boat was about going over as we lighted ; and Notice being got ſome way or other to the Judge's Ear, that there were two Strangers on the other Side of the Water, he had ſent a Boat and a couple of Men for us, who ſaid we muſt go, for the Judge ſaid, he could not ſleep until we came ; whatſoever the Mat-ter is, we know not, ſaid they : So we went, after aſking if they at the Ferry-houſe had been at any Coſt or Trouble on our Account in providing Sup-per, for as yet we had not eaten any thing ſince we landed ; the People ſaid no, they had not done any Thing which we ſhould pay for : It grew dark and very ſtormy, and the Sea broke over the Boat, ſo that ſome of us were forced to hold our Coat Laps one to touch another on the Weather Side, to keep out the Breakers of the Waves, that they might not fill the Boat, and we came ſafe over to the Judge's Houſe, and no ſooner got into the Paſſage but his friendly Wife met us and aſked us, *If we were the Strangers her Huſband had ſent for ?* I ſaid, *We are Strangers.*

Strangers. She bid us follow her to the Judge, and we did so. When we came to him, he rose up, and took the Candle in his Hand and said, *Are you the Strangers that I have sent for?* I said, *Who thou mayst expect I know not, but we are Strangers.* When he had looked well in my Face, he set down the Candle and said, *What a Mercy is this, that the Lord should send Men from I know not where, in his Love to visit me!* and took me in his Arms and kissed me; and I said to him, *The Lord of Heaven and Earth bless thee*; and we shed many Tears and wept together.

As I entered the House, I felt the Love of God, and his Glory, I thought, shone in and filled every Room as I passed through them, and I said, *Peace be to this Place*, and I felt it was so. He enquired of our Travels, and from whence we came, of which we gave him a brief Account: He also asked if I knew any Thing of the Family of *Staffords* at *Lahorn*, near *Haverfordwest*, in *South-Wales?* I told him all I knew about them, both of the Dead and of the Living; with which he was pleased, and said, *He had not heard of them many Years, and that Family were his near Kindred.*

Now as the Judge was somewhat troubled with the Gout, I found his usual Bed-time drew near, and I made an Offer to go away lest I should discommode him, yet he appeared unwilling to part with us; but considering his own Ailments and our early Rising in the Morning, he at length consented: But before we parted, his Wife asked leave of him to go with us on the Morrow to the Meeting, to which

which he readily aſſented, if he was not worſe of his Diſtemper, and then ordered how we ſhould ride, and which Negro ſhould go, not only to help his Wife but us alſo, and take our Horſes when there was Occaſion, and do any Thing he could for us: And indeed ſo he did, and appeared to me to run on his Feet without much Trouble, being a lively young Man.

I omitted before, that the Judge aſked, *If we had ſeen the Governor*, and *if he was kind to us?* I told him he was very friendly to us, and ſaid, *If we met with any Trouble in his Liberty that he could help us in, only let him know and he would right us.* The Judge ſaid, *It was very well, and he was glad of it.* I perceived the Judge was rather a Moderator of the Governor, he being an ancient wiſe Man, and had lived long as a Judge upon the Iſland, and underſtood (it is like) more fully the State of Things there than the Governor could be capable of, he being but a young Man, altho' he appeared to be a wiſe Man, and, as *William Penn* ſaid, came of an ancient and honourable Family in *England*, which he knew very well, whoſe Name was *Bennett*. Afterwards I told *William Penn* how it had fared with us on that Iſland, and eſpecially the Kindneſs of the two chief Men in Power there, and *William Penn* wept, and ſaid, *He had not heard any Account of this Nature, that he had been ſo much affected with, as he remembred theſe many Years.*

Now we left the Judge until the Morning, and got ſome ſmall Refreſhment, it being late, and I had been faint for ſeveral Hours for want of eating, but

but the Lord's heavenly Power bore me up over all so that at Times I felt no want of any Thing; O Renowned over all be the Name of the mighty God now and for ever. We went to Bed, and when Morning came, I with my Companion were ſtirring early, having eight Miles to the Meeting, and it being in the latter End of the *Ninth Month*, we were willing to be in ſuch Time, that we might give ſome Notice to the People. I was walking in our Lodging Room early, and the Judge's Wife came to the Door and aſked, *if ſhe might ſpeak with us?* I ſaid *ſhe might*; then ſhe came in and ſaid, *She had a Meſſage from her Huſband to us*; I required *what it was?* She ſaid, *He deſired we would come and pray for him before we went away.* I deſired ſhe would favour us ſo much as to lay before her Huſband ſomething which I had to ſay, and ſhe promiſed ſhe would: *Well then, tell the Judge, that if he will ſuffer us to come into his Room, and ſit down and wait upon the Lord, as our Manner is in ſuch a Caſe as this, if it pleaſe the Lord to move us by his holy Spirit to pray we may; but if not, let not the Judge take it amiſs, for we are willing to be at the Lord's diſpoſing in all Things.* She went, and I believe, as ſhe ſaid, laid the Metter before him as I had delivered it to her; for ſhe was a Woman of a good Underſtanding, and came back again to us in a very little Time: I aſked, *what the Judge ſaid?* She replied, he ſaid, *Let the Men take their own Way, and whether they pray for me or not, I believe they are Men of God:* So after ſome little reſpite, we being brought to the Judge's Bed-ſide, ſat down and waited

aited upon the Lord, who was pleaſed in his Love
nd by his mighty Power to break in upon us, and
ſo opened my Mouth in his Gift of Grace and of
pplication, in which Gift, ardent and fervent
ries went up to the Lord of Heaven and Earth,
hat he would ſend Health and Salvation to the
udge, and alſo to all his Family, and to all People
r and near, that all every where might repent,
nd come to the Knowledge of the Truth and be
ved. The Judge wept aloud, and a mighty Viſi-
ation it was to his Family, and eſpecially to him-
elf and his tender Wife. We left the Judge in a
ne Frame of Spirit, and no doubt near the King-
om, having his Bleſſing and earneſt Requeſt, that
when we could reach his Houſe we would not fail
o come to it, for we were very welcome; and I
ound and felt it ſo, and it was moſtly our Lodg-
ngs: His Wife and Foot-page went with us to all
he Meetings, except one, while we were on the
ſland, which was about two Weeks, in which Time
ve had many good Opportunities among a ſober be-
haved and well carriaged People, amongſt whom
we met with no Oppoſition, but had large quiet
Meetings.

When we were clear, as we thought, of the Iſ-
land, we went to take our ſolid Leaves of the Go-
vernor, acknowledging his Civility and Generoſity
to us Strangers, and I told him and the Judge,
*That they would not want their Reward for what they
had done to us, and ſuch who ſhould take their Lives
in their Hands, and come in the Love of God to
viſit theſe remote Parts of the World, which we durſt*

not have undertaken if we had not believed it requir
of us by the Almighty, and our Peace concerned in
as alſo the Glory of God, and the Good of the Childr
of Men; theſe are the Motives to thoſe our great U
dertakings; or Words to that Purpoſe. So we par
ed in much Love with theſe great Men, eſpeciall
the Judge, with Tears on his Face, as alſo his te
der and friendly Wife, who had been very ſervice
able to us in ordering Meetings and making way fo
us, and none like her in all the Iſland, that we me
withall, ſhe being given up to that Service, for th
encouraging Truth and Friends in what ſhe wa
capable of.

Being invited to a Friend's Houſe to dine one
Day, when we were ſat down at the Table, the
Woman of the Houſe deſired *that one of us would ſa*
Grace; from which I took an Occaſion to ſhew her,
and ſeveral more in the Company, who appeared not
much more grown in the Truth than ſhe, *that ſince*
we had been a People, we had both believed (and ac-
cordingly practiſed) *that* true Prayer *was not perform-*
ed without the Help of the holy Spirit of God, *and*
no Man could pray aright *and* acceptable *without it*;
nor was it in Man's Power to have it when he pleaſ-
ed; *therefore it is Man's Place to wait upon the Lord*
for the pouring forth of this Gift *upon him, and alſo*
to know whether it be required of him to pray, *ſo as*
to be heard by Man, or only to pray ſecretly, *ſo as to be*
heard of God, as did Hannah, *and many more have*
done; *which, as they do aright, no doubt, but as Chriſt*
ſaid to his Diſciples, their Father will hear them in
ſecret, and reward them openly; or to this Effect:
With which they all appeared ſatisfied. We

We then went on board our Veſſel, and ſet Sail ith a fair Wind for the eaſt End of the Iſland, in order r *Barbados*; but ſoon after we got out to the Mouth that Inlet where we arrived firſt, the Wind came ll againſt us, and we put in there again; and the aſter, altho' not called one of us, ſaid in a friend- Manner, *What is the Matter now? this is along of you, Ir.* Richardſon (as he was pleaſed to call me, altho' oft ſhewed my Diſlike to it) *you have ſomething to o yet on the Iſland.* I ſaid, *I knew not of any Thing*; ut he ſeemed poſitive, and withall ſaid, *if the Wind ame fair at Midnight he would call if I was willing*; *f not, he would. ſtay as long as I pleaſed.* I ſaid, I knew not of any Thing to hinder, but he might call s ſoon as the Wind came fair. So we parted, only giving him an Account, that we intended to go for the Judge's Houſe. It was late in the Evening when we got there, and the Judge was gone to Bed; but his Wife was up, who lifted up her Hands with more than ordinary Surprize, and much Joy, and ſaid, *She was always glad to ſee me, but never more than now:* I ſaid, *Why ſo?* She then began to tell, how that ſince I went away, there had been a Man with the Judge, who had incenſed him againſt me all that ever he could, and ſaid, *He knew me in* England, *and that I was broke, and came into theſe Parts to preach for a Living.* I aſked, *what her Huſband ſaid to all that?* She ſaid, his Anſwer was to the Man, *that he believed I was no ſuch Perſon, but an honeſt Man*; yet the Accuſer ſeemed very poſitive. I ſaid, *It would be well if this Man could be brought with me to the Judge's Face, that he might be convinc-*

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ed, *not only of the Man's Ignorance of us as a Peop*
but of me in particular, and his Envy againſt me
made known; upon which I opened to her the Ca
of ſuch Journeys and Services, how we proceede
and how the Meetings were conſtituted in whic
we did ſo proceed, and from whence we had Cer
tificates, from Monthly, Quarterly, or Meetings
Miniſters to which we belonged, and from Friend
in the ſeveral Provinces and Iſlands where we trave
led, if we deſired them, many of which I coul
ſhew the Judge if Time would admit; but ſhe ſaid
leſt we ſhould be called away in haſte, ſhe craved
ſee ſome of thoſe Certificates: I ſhewed her them
Beginning at the firſt, wherein Friends of *Kelk*, now
Bridlington Monthly-meeting, in *Yorkſhire*, to Friend
in *America*, ſhewed not only their full Unity with
this my preſent Journey, but alſo with my Service
for the Truth, and Converſation in the ſame, where
I had lived and travelled; and that I had ſettled my
outward Affairs to Friends Satisfaction, under ma-
ny Hands variouſly writ.

When this great and wiſe Woman ſaw this, ſhe
ſaid, *it was enough*; but I ſhewed her other Cer-
tificates from divers Places, wherein Friends had
ſignified ſufficiently their Unity and Satisfaction with
me. I likewiſe informed her, that in Caſe any Man,
not approved by us as a Miniſter, did take upon
him to impoſe his Preaching upon any who were
Strangers to him, ſuch as knew him took Care to
acquaint the Churches therewith, if his Intentions
could be known, that no Impoſter might do any
Hurt: All which ſhe admired, and ſaid *ſhe had ne-*

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er heard so much before, neither did she think there ad been such excellent Orders in the World amongst ny People.

Having thus acquainted her with our Order and Discipline, and afterwards informed her of the Cause of our unexpected Return, I renewed my Proposal of having my Accuser before the Judge; she told me, she had good Place with her Husband, and would endeavour to obtain it: And accordingly, after talking with him, she let me know, that the Judge expressed his Readiness to do me any Service which lay in his Power, and was of Opinion, my Accuser durst not face either him or me in that Affair; but that if the Wind continued against us, he would try to find him out and bring him, which might be of Service; but if the Wind favoured, she thought I might be easy to go; as indeed I was, and the more so, considering that our Captain *Salter*, who lived near the Judge on the same Island, had shewed a great deal of Patience and good Disposition towards us for about two Weeks, yet would gladly be gone; so about Mid-night we were called to go on board the Ship, for the Wind was fair, if we were ready; I replied, *we come quickly*, and so we did, and took leave of all we saw of the Family, and remembered our dear Love, with grateful Acknowledgments to the Judge, for all his Civility and Kindnesses he had done to us, with Reasons why we could not see him, for he had been afflicted for some Time with the Gout, and was now fallen into some Rest, and we going very early away, were not at our own Disposal.

I admired the Lord's good Providence in all this, and there was something of a Reach from the same watchful Providence, to order that to be put into my Certificate which did so fully remove that Slur this Enemy would have fastened upon me, *(i. e.)* that *I had broke in* England, *and could not pay my Debts*, and therefore was come into these remote Parts of the World, where I was unknown, *to preach for a Livelihood*; but the contrary fully appeared, that I was known and well beloved too, and had Effects to discharge any just Demand upon me, blessed be the worthy Name of the Lord, now and for ever.

Now I may say something of our Affairs upon the Sea in this Voyage: When Captain *Salter* had taken us in Passengers at *Philadelphia* for *Barbados*, it being a time of War, and People somewhat afraid of shipping Goods, he said, he was to have two honest *Quakers* Passengers, and he did not fear being taken by Privateers nor Pirates. I was troubled at his Confidence in us, and told him so, and that it was much if the Lord did not suffer us to be taken, that he might see Men were not to be depended upon, but that we ought to depend upon the Lord alone for Protection and Deliverance: However, in much less Time than was expected, Goods came, and we were loaded and gone. We had rough Weather before we came to *Barbados*, (I have given an Account of *Bermudas)*, especially about the Tropick of *Cancer* we had very high Wind, and I was extreamly Sea-sick, and so was my Companion, and I could eat little, but was treated with remarkable Civilities by the Captain; for

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and about that Latitude there are Fiſh not unlike Herrings, which fly from Wave to Wave, and by dipping their Fins or Wings in the Water, they will fly a great Way, eſpecially when they are chaſed by Fiſhes of Prey, and almoſt every Morning there were of thoſe Fiſhes found on the Ship's Deck; and the Captain often ſaid, as his Manner was, Mr. *Richardſon* theſe are ſent for you, or for your Breakfaſt, and ſeeing it is ſo, I will dreſs them myſelf, for I know, ſaid he, my Cook is ſo greaſy you can hardly eat of his Cookery, which was very true; and therefore he would waſh his Hands, and lay a clean Napkin on his Arm, and tell me he would dreſs me my Breakfaſt in the beſt Faſhion he could. I aſked him, *why he would put himſelf to ſo much Trouble?* He ſaid, he never waited on a Man in all his Life with ſo much Pleaſure, and if I were going into any Country where he was going, I ſhould not pay any thing for my Paſſage; ſo much Reſpect he ſhewed me.

Now it happened in the Courſe of this Voyage, when we were within a few Leagues of *Barbados*, one Morning early as ſoon as Day appeared, he that was aloft (upon the Watch to look out, as the Manner of Mariners is, eſpecially in the Time of Wars and Danger) eſpied a Ship which he and the reſt of our moſt knowing Men ſuppoſed to be a *Turkiſh* Frigate, of conſiderable Strength; however, it was a great Veſſel, and appeared to have a great many Guns: When we firſt ſaw her, ſhe appeared to be within Gun-ſhot. But oh, what a Surprize and Fright our Ship's Crew were in! I had not often ſeen the like. Our Veſſel being deep loaded,

loaded, although a good Sailer, was leſs than that which chaſed us, and to run for it appeared the only way for us to eſcape, hauling as cloſe to the Wind as we could to keep the Sails full; and the Veſſel being ſtiff with its great Burthen, endured Sail well, and indeed they crowded ſo much Sail, that I told them I feared they would bring the Rigging by the Board; ſo thus we laboured until Noon, and then our Captain had loſt all his Confidence in the *Quakers*, and ſaid we ſhall be taken, for the Ship has gained upon us for ſeveral Hours, and we have done what we can, and are all ſpent: I walked upon the Main-deck under no ſmall Concern of Mind, and Truth roſe, and I found it open in the Truth, *that we ſhould not be taken:* The Captain ſaid, binding it with ſome Aſſervations, we ſhall certainly be taken, I ſaid, *No; we ſhall not, unleſs by our Miſmanagement.* Alas! ſaid he, you are ſuch a Man as I never met withall; do you not ſee the Frigate, or *Sallee-man*, for that he called her, is juſt going to fire a Broad-ſide at us, opening the Gun Ports, and laying the Ship broad Side upon us, and levelling at her as well as they can? And indeed our Captain, altho' he was a ſtout Man, yet appeared very ghaſtly and dead-hearted, and ſaid (in a Tone which beſpoke both Affliction and Trouble) to me, Go into my Cabbin, or ſome where under the Deck, for they will fire immediately; and that where I walked I could hardly eſcape either the Shot or the Rigging falling upon me. I ſaid, *they will not fire*; *and deſired him to be eaſy, for we ſhould come to no Damage by that Ship.* Well then, he aſked what they

ſhould

ſhould do, for the Enemy was juſt upon us? I ſaid, *I would fetch them a Bottle or two, or more of my beſt Brandy, and they ſhould take as much as might do them good; but have a Care of more, and ply away a while and you will ſee they will fall back, and we ſhall leave them.* The Captain ſaid, although there was no human Probability of eſcaping, yet for my Sake they would try, and to work they went. I think I never ſaw Men on board of any Ship work like them for ſome Hours, and we ſoon perceived we outſailed them, and by the time it began to be dark we had left them conſiderably.

Now all Fire and Light was forbidden, except what could not be avoided, and all Noiſe, and a Council was held, to conſult what Way to ſteer, whether the neareſt or moſt common way for the Iſland, or about; for it was reaſonable to conclude the Adverſary would way-lay us, if he could, before we came to the Iſland; and the Captain ſaid, what I ſaid in the Caſe ſhould be done: After ſome Deliberation I told him, *I was moſt eaſy in ſteering the neareſt Courſe*, which we did, and ſaw our adverſary no more.

We came to the Iſland next Day in much Joy, that we had eſcaped ſo imminent a Danger, but I was very ill in a *Fever* when I landed, which had been growing upon me for ſeveral Days, (this being the Sixth-day of the Week, and 18th of the *Tenth Month*) I was ſo poorly, that ſeveral thought I muſt die; but I ſtood reſigned in the Will of God, whether to die or live. The Firſt-day being come, I went to the Meeting, though with great Difficulty,

being very weak, where I ſat under more than uſual Exerciſe, Reaſonings, and Conflicts of Spirit for ſome time, about my preſent Condition, which was weak and low, and in my own Apprehenſion, unlikely to be of any Service, notwithſtanding all the Troubles and Hazards of the Sea and Robbers, and other Jeopardies in coming here, I was now thus diſabled and laid by as uſeleſs. Theſe Things were an Occaſion to me to conſider, whether I had not miſs'd my Way in ſomething or other? Many particulars were brought to my Mind, whether I had diſcharged myſelf faithfully where I had been? and when I looked back and took a View of my paſt Travels and Services in the Work of the Miniſtry, and Diſcipline of the Church, my Conduct and whole Converſation, I ſaw nothing but I was clear of the Blood of all Men; as alſo clear and well ſatisfied both as to the Time of my coming, as well as to the Coming itſelf unto this Iſland. There appeared yet two Things in my way; *Firſt*, if this Place ſhould be my Grave, ſuch as might not watch over me with the beſt Eye may ſay, *If he had gone at the Lord's Command, no doubt but he would have brought him back again*; and *Secondly*, as I had *two little Children in* England, *if I finiſhed my Courſe here, they would be left Fatherleſs and Motherleſs*, And I ſaid before the Lord, *Let not my End bring Diſhonour to thy great Name nor any Blemiſh to the Truth which I have loved, and laboured for the Promotion of from my Childhood.*

When I had thus, or to this Purpoſe appealed to the Lord, I felt great Quietneſs and Reſignation of Mind; and as I thus ſat, a Friend well thought on

on by ſeveral, began to ſpeak in the Meeting, and it opened in my Mind, that he was not wholly redeemed from having ſome Thoughts, that *elementary Water* had not yet ended its Service; I mean in Point of *Dipping:* I would have ſhut it out, for the Man appeared a wiſe, zealous Man; and I being altogether a Stranger, could not remember I had heard of his Name, yet the Matter continued, and I thought, for my own Satisfaction I might aſk him the Queſtion: If he was a right ſpirited Friend, he would not be hurt; if he was not, he ſtood in Need of Help, or at leaſt it was high time for Friends to have a more perfect Knowledge of him. So I leave this a while, and return to the other Part of the Meeting, which was very remarkable.

During my ſitting, as before, under much Weakneſs of Body, yet quiet in Mind, the living Virtue or heavenly Power of Chriſt ſprang up in my inward Man, like healing and ſuppling Oil, which ſo effectually helped me every way, that I could ſay feelingly and experimentally, *Miracles are not ceaſed*; for I was raiſed beyond my own Expectation, and all others who knew my weak State, to give Teſtimony to the glorious Coming and Manifeſtation of Chriſt in Power, Spirit, Life, Light, and Grace, for the Help, Health, and Salvation of all the Children of Men who receive, believe in, and obey his Spiritual Knocks, Reproofs, and heavenly Calls in the Soul, without any Leſſening to his *Humanity:* Great Cauſe have I, with all the Living, to love, value, honor and reverence the great and

and mighty Name of him who hath helped and healed, by ſending his eternal Word of living Power into our Hearts.

Returning with other Friends to my Quarters from this good Meeting (not to be forgotten by me) came the before-mentioned Friend to ſee me; and I having, as I told him, a Deſire to ſpeak privately with him, he reply'd, there were none there but his good Friends, and I might ſpeak my Mind. I told him, what I had to ſay related chiefly to himſelf, and in ſuch a matter as he might not be willing to have it expoſed; but he would not hear, and ſaid, I might ſpeak it there. I deſir'd he would not take an Offence at what I had to ſay, for I did ſuppoſe it to be a Secret to all there but himſelf; and then I ſaid, the matter is, When thou waſt ſpeaking in the Meeting, it ſounded in the Ear of my Soul as if one had ſaid, *This Man* (meaning thee) *is not wholly redeemed out of a Belief in* John's *Miniſtration of Water, as not having done its Work.* Now the matter is before thee, thou knoweſt whether what I receiv'd be true or falſe: In the firſt Place I enquire for my own Satisfaction. His Anſwer, if it may be called one, was as followeth; he ſaid, *The Diſciples of Chriſt, when they baptized with Water, knew that it was the Mind of their great Maſter that they ſhould ſo baptize:* I ſaid, I know not that any of the Apoſtles did ever ſay ſo much as thou wouldſt inſinuate; for both by what *Peter* and *Paul* ſay, it appears very natural to be the Mind of Chriſt, only to condeſcend to ſo much as was done by the Apoſtles in that of Water, be-

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auſe of the Peoples Weakneſs; and no Queſtion ut the *Jews* were very much ſettled in the Belief f *John* the Baptiſt's Diſpenſation of Water to Re- entance, and alſo of the Circumciſion, and Purify- ng, and many other Things uſed amongſt that People: Now *Peter*, when the Converts were grown ſtronger in the Faith and in the Grace of God, told them, *It is not the putting away the Filth of the Fleſh, but the Anſwer of a good Conſcience towards God, by the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt*; and *Paul*, although he did once in Condeſcention circumciſe *Timothy*, yet told the People at another Time, that *Neither Circumciſion nor Uncircumciſion availeth any thing, but a new Creature*; *and if they were circum- ciſed, Chriſt would profit them nothing*; and he alſo thanks God, *he baptized no more than* Criſpus *and* Gaius, *and the Houſhold of* Stephanus; *beſides theſe, he knew not that he had baptized any other, for Chriſt ſent him not to baptize, but to preach the Goſpel:* And I am, as I ſaid to the Friend, of the Prophet's Mind when he ſaid, *The Elements ſhould melt as with fervent Heat*: If the *Goſpel Power* be not this *fer- vent Heat*, I know not what is, nor what is able to melt away the *Elements*. But I further ſaid, if he was a *Baptiſt*, he ſhould deal plainly and honeſtly with Friends, and tell them what he was, and not preach one thing, and keep ſuch Reſerves to himſelf.

Friends admir'd, and ſaid, they had not the leaſt Thought of any ſuch Thing by him; ſo he ſaid, he would not fall out with me. I told him, I was as much for Peace as he was, but at the ſame Time I would have us to mind that we were *found in the Faith*,

Faith, and Preachers of the Gospel, and not go back again into the *Beggarly Elements*, for what is all in Comparison of the Love of God in Christ Jesus.

I had good Service and great Satisfaction upon this Island, although I found Truth so low, that it might then be truly said as formerly, *By whom shall* Jacob, or the true Seed, *arise*, which is in our Apprehensions but small, and much press'd down with the many Things that are hurtful, especially by the Love of Money, Pride, and Forgetfulness of God?

I was invited on board a great transport Ship, whereof one *Reed* was Master, who remembered me when I was but young, and was travelling to or near *Scarborough*; he was loving to me, and several Friends who were with me, and I had good Service on board. There was also on board a *French* Protestant, now a Captain of the *English* transport Soldiers bound for *Jamaica*; he lodged at *John Groves*'s, and was a very civil Man, and said if I would go with Captain *Reed* (who offered, if I was going, to carry me to *Jamaica* free) he would wait on me if I was sick or ailed any thing; and would gladly have had my Company: I acknowledged both their Generosity and Civility to me, and so I took leave of them, and of the noble Captain *Salter*, who I have had Occasion both to mention and to love, who took his solid leave of me, and wept like a Child, and said openly in the hearing of many, *that he never lov'd a Man so well before, and tho' he did not want Business, yet for my Sake he would serve my Friends what lay in his Power*; or near those Words.

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I find as we live and walk in the Truth, there an inward Witneſs which God hath placed in the Hearts of Men that is reachable, except in ſuch who re arrived to a great Degree of Hardneſs and Inenſibility, and ſo have little Senſe or Perceivance f Good, either in themſelves or in others, which s a deplorable State and much to be lamented. Oh what Grief of Heart and Spirit it hath been to me, o hear and ſee the Wickedneſs of ſome! if ſuch Wickedneſs was as great a Trouble to them who acted it, as it was to me, I have thought they would ſoon grow weary of it.

Now I left the Iſland, and embarked on board a Ship, *John Griffith* Maſter, bound for *Briſtol* in *Old England*, and went to Sea with ſome *Eaſt-India* Ships that had put in at *Barbados*, having a Ship of War or two for their Convoy. After we were got to Sea, they had ſo much drinking and carouſing that we grew weary of ſtaying with them, and after ſome Conſideration, the Captain, who was a Friend, left them and came ſafe to *England*.

In our Paſſage we had ſome rough Weather near the Tropick, which I mentioned before, and the Men and Captain being much diſordered with watching and hard Labour, as I remember, for eight and forty Hours Night and Day, a Calm enſuing, the Captain deſired me to take his Place for his Watch, and mind the Helmſman, and ſee that he made ſtraight Steerage; but alas! he was ſo ſleepy, it was next to impoſſible to keep him awake. I walked on the Deck, and had overmuch Work to mind the Compaſs, and the Helmſman too, for a fine Breeze

Breeze of Wind came on, and all of a ſudden a very unuſual Fear fell on me, and I looked into the Sea and beheld it appeared to turn blue, and as far as I could diſcern to Windward, I ſaw white Caps or the Water-freckle; on ſeeing which, through Fear more than any great Skill, I ſtampt with my Foot as though I would have broke the Deck. Out came the Captain, but what with Fear and Sleep he could ſcarce hit the Door out of the Cabbin; but when he was got upon the Deck, he ſtampt, and called out all his Hands, and bid them lower and furl the Sails with Speed, or elſe we were all dead Men, for here is a Hurricane juſt upon us: And no ſooner was all made ſnug as well as could be (as the Seamen phraſe it) but the Wind blew ſo, that we thought it would have turn'd the Bottom of the Ship upward: The like I never ſaw; and, as the Captain ſaid, we had not one Minute to ſpare of being caſt away, according to all human Probability; and, as the Seamen term it, it was ſuch *Hurry durry thick Weather*, that we could ſcarce ſee any thing a hundred Yards, which violent Weather held for about an Hour, in which time we drove by a Veſſel, and were ſo near her, that I thought I could have flung a Stone aboard: Our Ship's Crew were ſore afraid, and looked upon her to be a Robber; her Rudder was laſhed or tied up, and the Men were all gone off the Deck, but our Mariners were ſo affrighted, that they thought they would ſet ſome ſail and follow us; for no ſooner were we paſt this Ship but the Weather grew better, and away we ran in hazard of bringing the Maſts by the board, but

but through the Divine Providence of him that is Lord over all, both Sea and Land, we escaped and came safe into *Cork*, in *Ireland*, where the Master lived, and rode there for some Time, and then weighed for *Bristol*, as I intended for the Yearly-meeting there.

We had rough Weather in crossing the Channel, before we came into the *Severn*, where our Sailors, being afraid of being prest, launched the Boat, and ran away into *Cornwell*, leaving but four on board to bring the Ship up the River. We saw a Pinnace, having in it a Lieutenant with a Crew of pressed Men, to press more if they could find them, and our Master called on me, and desired I would put on my best Cloaths and come to him, and so I did, and he sat me on his right Hand: By this time up comes the Lieutenant and asked for my Men, taking me for the Master; I told him, they had launched the Long-boat and were gone, and we could not hinder them, they being the strongest Party; at which he appeared very much enraged, and seemed as though he would have struck at me. I told him calmly, he had more need pity than be angry with us, for if there should be a Gale of Wind, we were in great Danger of all perishing for want of Hands, for I shewed him what Force we had, viz. *James Bates*, whom I did not then call my Companion, nor *John Griffith* Captain, the Cabbin Boy and myself were all the Men on board. But he asked, what for a Man that was who sat beside me? I told him, he was a Man sufficiently secur'd against the Press: Then the rough Man fell, and said, I looked

like an honeſt Man, and he would take my Word and not ſearch for Men: So I ordered a Bottle of the beſt Liquor on board to be brought, and then the Lieutenant and I parted very friendly.

I write not this as a Thing I approved, but diſliked; but being taken at unawares, had not time to ſhun it (as before mention'd) unleſs I had expoſed my Friend the Maſter of the Ship; although I neither ſaid nor did, that I know of, any thing worſe than what thou ſeeſt here written; I told the Captain I thought he was a great Coward, and had expos'd me to Danger to ſave himſelf.

Wind and Weather favouring us, we came in due time to *Briſtol* Yearly-meeting, where I met with *William Edmundſon*, and was truly glad to ſee him with many more at that Place; but my Companion falling ſick, I was made willing to leave him, and travell'd to *London* with *John Watſon* of *Ireland*, and a ſweet ſpirited Man he was; we got to *London* Yearly-meeting, where I diſcharged myſelf of what I had upon my Mind, and came away in Peace, and in the feeling of the Love of God.

John Haydock and I came from *London* together, and had Meetings in our way to *York* Yearly-meeting, where I was glad to ſee my Home-Friends, and to enjoy the Love of God once more with them; for this is our principle Crown and Kingdom in this World, to enjoy the favourable Countenance of the Lord, and one another in his living and internal Preſence; and when I looked back upon all the Mercies and Deliverances I had received from the mighty God of Heaven and Earth, Seas, and Ri-

vers

ers of Water, whose Hand made all, and whose Eye and watchful Providence attends all, and is over all, my Soul was filled with Thanks and Praises to the great and most excellent Name of him who lives for ever, and hath helped my Soul to overcome many strong Temptations, and hath borne up my Head under many deep Afflictions and Tribulations, renowned for ever be his holy Name.

I came home the 18th of the *Fourth Month* 1703, and found my Children well; and now I was under a Thoughtfulness how to walk and demean myself so, as that I might be preserved near the Lord, and in due Reverence and true Fear before him; that inasmuch as I found there was something of Holiness unto the Lord imprinted or ingraven upon the fleshly Table of my Heart, that now in this Time, when I was not so particularly and immediately concerned in the like daily Travel on Truth's Account, I might not lose the Savour, Relish and Sensation of heavenly Things. Some will read me here, in this short Survey I have been taken of my present State and Thoughtfulness, that if I could not make it better, I might not make it worse, either in doing, or not doing any thing that might prove a hurt to me; for a Vessel had much better be laid by, if it can be spared, than used to its hurt. Now in this careful and watchful Frame of Mind, I have found Preservation from time to time to this Day, by retaining the Salt of the Kingdom in the Soul or the inward Man, which is of a preserving Quality, with which the Vessel is, and can only be kept fit for the Master's Use: If we lose this, the Creature

ture ſoon grows out of Order and unfit for the Maſter's Uſe: Read and conſider theſe Things in Time, while thou haſt the Prize in thy Hand, and Time to do, and receive Good at the Hand of him who is truly full of Good, and is all Good; to him be the Offerings of Praiſe and Renown, now and for ever.

Whilſt I remain'd at Home, as my uſual Manner was, I attended Firſt-day, and Week-day, and Monthly-meetings, as alſo Quarterly and other Meetings for the Service of Truth, and viſited many Meetings up and down in the Country, and had good Service and much Satisfaction in being given up to the Service of Truth: but did not ſee it convenient (as my Children were well placed) to ſettle or keep a Family, until my Way appeared clear to marry, which did now draw on, and after I had been near ſeven Years a Widower I married *Anne Robinſon*, who deſcended of a ſubſtantial Family at *Hutton* in the *Hole*, in the Pariſh of *Leſtingham*, not far from *Kirby-moorſide*, in *Yorkſhire*.

We had not been married much above two Years, before my Wife began to appear in the publick Work of the Miniſtry, and indeed very comfortably and acceptable to Friends, and ſhe grew in Underſtanding both of the Diſcipline of the Church of Chriſt, and alſo in further Knowledge in the Work of the living Miniſtry, *&c.* And about that time it came upon me to viſit Friends in moſt of the Northern Counties in *England*; and ſome ſmall time after my Return, I had a Concern to viſit Friends in ſeveral Parts of the Southern Counties, *Thomas Beedal* being my Companion, who grew in the Truth,

Truth, and also in the Ministery: We had many good Meetings in that Journey, good Service and great Satisfaction, and I return'd Home in Peace.

Now I may say with Sorrow of Heart, the Time drew on apace when my virtuous Wife and I must part and be no longer Meet-helps to one another, which we truly were, and never had either evil Word or evil Thought against each other, I am fully satisfied; but lived in Peace and true Love one with another, and were glad when we could either one or both serve Truth and Friends: Therefore I find it on my Mind, in this Place, to insert the following Relation concerning her, *viz.*

A short ACCOUNT *of the* Life, Convincement, Qualifications, *and* dying Sayings *of that faithful Handmaid of the Lord,* ANNE RICHARDSON, *who departed this Life the 18th of the* Twelfth Month, 1711, *aged about Thirty three Years.*

" SHE was descended of an honest and conside-
" rable Family of the *Robinsons,* at *Hutton* in the
" *Hole* in *Yorkshire,* and was convinced in her young
" Years, and received the Truth in the Love of it,
" and it became valuable and precious to her above
" all Things in this World; and through the bles-
" sed Work and Operation of the Grace and holy
" Spirit of Truth, she was weaned from the World's
" Pleasures, Vanities and Recreations, from taking
" any

" any Delight in them; and through the virtuous
" and moſt precious Blood of Chriſt, ſhe came to
" witneſs her Heart ſprinkled from an evil Conſci-
" ence, and in a good degree made able to ſerve
" the living God, and bore a faithful Teſtimony
" againſt the needleſs and ſuperfluous Dreſſes and
" Faſhions of the World, as alſo againſt the corrupt
" Language thereof; and came to be a great Lover
" of Virtue and Purity, and had great Satisfaction
" in being in good Friends Company, and at Friends
" Meetings, and in much Retirement and waiting
" upon the Lord, who in great Mercy and Con-
" deſcention to the Deſire of his Handmaid, gave
" her a large Share, not only of the Enjoyment of
" his living Power and internal Preſence, but alſo a
" Knowledge and clear Sight into thoſe Things that
" appertain'd to Life and Salvation: And after
" Truth thus prevailed over her, and brough every
" Thought into the Obedience of Chriſt, and ſub-
" jected her Will to the Will of God, which is a
" great Work, yet requiſite to the *new Birth*, with-
" out which there is no *Regeneration*; and without
" Regeneration and being born again, there is no
" entering into the Kingdom of Heaven.

" After this great Change was wrought in her,
" it was evident through the remaining Part of her
" Time, that ſhe was much preſerved under the
" Power, Influence, and Guidance of the peaceable,
" meek and quiet Spirit of Jeſus Chriſt, and grew
" daily more and more in the Favour and Love of
" God, and was much beloved of God's People,
" and indeed of her Relations, Neighbours and Ac-
" quaintance,

quaintance, who were not of her Perſuaſion, and walked ſo wiſely and prudently in all her Ways, that ſhe ſought not her own Honour and Intereſt, but the Honour of the Lord, and inward Peace with him, which ſhe had a Regard unto in all her Undertakings; ſo that even ſuch who ſought for an Occaſion againſt Truth and the Profeſſors of it, had nothing to ſay againſt her, not even from her Childhood to the Day of her Death, for ſhe was generally beloved and ſpoken well of by all who knew her, and many were deeply and ſorrowfully affected to part with her, both Friends and others; the like hath not often been ſeen in thoſe Parts, and not without ſome Cauſe, for ſhe was a Woman of an upright Life, and exemplary Converſation before all, and gave no Offence to *Jew* or *Gentile*, nor to the Church of Chriſt; charitable to the Poor, a true Sympathizer with ſuch as were in Affliction and Diſtreſs, whether in Body or in Mind, which was manifeſted in her frequent Viſits to ſuch, and by other Means clearly demonſtrated: She was a Woman endued with great Patience, and with a quiet and ſerene Mind, well qualified and fitted to her Huſband's Circumſtances, (whoſe Lot it was often to be abroad in the Service of the Truth) an honourable and a faithful Wife, willing to give up her all for Chriſt and the Goſpel's ſake, counting nothing in this World too near or dear to part with, for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the ever bleſſed Truth, Peace and Salvation of her own Soul, and the Good of others.

" One

" One Thing is remarkable and worthy of Com-
" memoration, which I inſert as followeth, tha
" others in the like Caſe may not barely and out-
" wardly imitate her, but feelingly come up in he
" heavenly Practice and Experience, under the In-
" fluence, Light and Help of God's holy and bleſ-
" ſed Spirit, *viz.* When that worthy Servant o
" Jeſus Chriſt, *John Bowſted*, returned from *Lon-*
" *don* Yearly-meeting through ſeveral Counties t
" *York*, and ſo Home with me, not long before my
" Wife was taken away; and having ſome Diſ-
" courſe with her, he aſked about ſeveral Things
" of Moment, eſpecially about *her Huſband being*
" *ſo much from Home*, ſhe gave him this Anſwer;
" *That inaſmuch as ſhe gave up her Huſband cheer-*
" *fully and freely to ſerve the Lord, and to be ſervice-*
" *able to the Church of Chriſt, ſhe did not only ſympa-*
" *thize and ſell with him in his moſt adverſe and low*
" *State, but pertook with him in his beſt Enjoyments,*
" *when the Power of Truth prevailed over all its*
" *Enemies; altho' I am then far from him, yet I par-*
" *take of the Spoil, or the ſhedding abroad of the good*
" *Things of God among his People, as my Heart goes*
" *along with the Work of the Lord, and ſuch as are*
" *engaged in it; and in all my Huſband's Afflictions*
" *I am afflicted with him: And one of my main Con-*
" *cerns is, that neither I, nor any Thing in this*
" *World, may detain my Huſband from doing what the*
" *Lord calls for at his Hand; for if any Thing hurt*
" *him as to the Truth, what Good can I expect of him?*
" This *John* much admir'd, with the deep and
" weighty Reaſons ſhe gave obout the *Chriſtian*

" Diſcipline

Discipline of the Church, and concerning the Ministry, the like, he said, he had not met with in all his Travels before; yet she was a Woman of few Words, and expreſt much in a little Compass: And when she was taken away, oh! the Loss and Sorrow he expresses to me in a Letter concerning her Death.

" She was very clear in her Understanding, had a penetrating and discerning Eye, a great and inward Sense of the State of a Meeting, as also of their several particular States. I cannot at present describe to the full all the hidden Virtues of this Handmaid of the Lord, but there were many visible Fruits of her virtuous Mind, that did appear to the Children of Men, some of which were these, *viz.* She was an affectionate and tender Mother to her Children, yet did correct them when Occasion required, without Passion, or the least Appearance of Disorder of Mind, and still had them in great Subjection; at which I often admired, and thought, surely she is come, by Workings of the holy Spirit, to a greater Dominion over her own Spirit, than many who appeared to be her Equals. She was a *true* Christian, *a loving and dutiful Child to her Parents*, a good Neighbour, a faithful Wife, a loving and tender-hearted Dame over her Servants, and overcame them with Love, and was much beloved by them, and also feared; they loved her, and were very unwilling to disoblige or offend her.

" She appeared and behaved herself as became a sanctified Vessel, that was in a good Degree fitted and

" prepared for the great Master's Use, and ofte
" appeared as one that had been secretly in com
" Intercourse with Jesus Christ in Spirit, where h
" Glory had more particularly shone in and ove
" her Soul, not only because of the Gravity and So
" lidity of her Countenance, but also the Tende
" ness, Humility and Sweetness of her Mind an
" Spirit, Weightiness of her Conversation, Edif
" cation of her Advice, Soundness of her Judg
" ment, and Clearness of her Understanding, a
" which made her Company very acceptable whil
" among the Living. Her Heart was often fille
" with the Love of God, and early raised and en
" abled to speak a Word in Season unto man
" States and Conditions, whether at home or abroad
" in her own Family, amongst her Neighbours, o
" in the Church of Christ, in Testimony to Mat
" ters relating to the Worship of God, or in Mat
" ters relating to Discipline, especially in the Meet
" ings of her own Sex, where she had a great Ser
" vice, and will be greatly wanted. She had grea
" Care upon her for the good Education of ou
" Youth in Plainness of Habit and Language, tha
" they might be preserved out of the Corruption
" of the World in all the Parts thereof; in a
" which Services she will be much missed: Yet w
" being sensible, that her Removal is her grea
" Gain, it helps to alleviate our Sorrow and Los
" which is great, and will not soon be forgotten b
" many who had the Benefit and Comfort of he
" good Services. Also her watchful and solid sit
" ting in our Meetings for Worship was remarkable

" wit

with very little Motion that was perceivable; yet when the leaſt Stirrings of Life in her Mind were perceived, in order to bring her forth in Teſtimony, the Meeting was truly glad, and the Living amongſt us rejoiced at it, for her Appearance was with the Wiſe, and in the Language of the holy Spirit; which was a clear Demonſtration that the Work was the Lord's, and by and through his Spirit and Power; all which gave her a great Place in the Minds of faithful Friends and Brethren. But ſhe is gone in the Prime and Flower of her Age! which ſets before and is a Memento unto us, to ſhew us the Uncertainty of our Time here, and to prepare for one Certain to come, that Death may not overtake us at unawares before we are prepared for it.

" I come now to the Time of her long Weakneſs, in which ſhe was preſerved in great Patience, Steadineſs and Reſignation of Mind to the Will of God, even unto the End; and ſhe enjoyed much heavenly Comfort and Conſolation in the living Preſence of the Lord to her immortal Soul, ſo that when ſhe was aſked, Whether ſhe thought ſhe might recover or not? ſhe mildly replied, *She was afraid to deſire to live*; *becauſe*, ſaid ſhe, *I believe if it pleaſe the Lord to take me away now, it will be well with me, for I find Nothing that lies as a Burden upon my Spirit.* At another Time ſhe ſaid, *As to that little Teſtimony I have been concerned in, this is my Comfort and Satisfaction, that I can truly ſay I did not kindle any ſtrange Fire, and therefore could not warm myſelf at the Sparks*

" *thereof*;

" *thereof*; *but what I did in that Matter was, in the*
" *Conſtrainings of the Love of God*; *and when my*
" *Cup was full, I a little emptied myſelf among the*
" *Lord's People, yet very ſenſible of my own Weakneſs*
" *and Poverty, and often thought myſelf unworthy of*
" *the leaſt of the Lord's Mercies.*

" Many ſavory Expreſſions ſhe ſpoke that were
" not written then, and therefore could not be re-
" membered; we having ſome Hopes of her Re-
" covery, it rather cauſed an Omiſſion as to ſuch a
" due Obſervance of what ſhe ſaid as otherwiſe it
" is like would have been; although ſhe was heard
" to ſay not long before ſhe fell weak, *She thought*
" *her Time would not be long in this World.* I never
" heard an unbecoming or unſavory Word come
" from her, let the Provocation thereto be what it
" would, no, not in the Time of her Health; and
" in her Weakneſs, ſhe was much ſwallowed up in
" the luminous and internal Preſence of her Lord
" and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; and often ſang Praiſes
" unto his worthy Name, and appeared as one whol-
" ly redeemed from this World, whoſe Heart was
" ſet upon, and Mind intent, and earneſtly engaged
" in the Purſuit after Heaven and heavenly Things.
" Bleſſed be the Lord, ſhe had witneſſed a Part in
" the *firſt Reſurrection*, and over ſuch, *the ſecond*
" *Death hath no Power*; and no doubt but ſhe liv-
" ed and believed in Jeſus Chriſt, even unto the
" End of her Time here, and paſſed away without
" any Appearance of Struggling or Sorrow, I be-
" lieve into a Manſion of Glory, where her Soul
" ſhall ſing *Hallelujah* to the Lord God and the
" Lamb

" Lamb for ever, with all thoſe who have over-
" come the World, the Beaſt, and falſe Prophet,
" and every Thing the Lord's Controverſy is with,
" and who have not loved their Lives unto Death,
" but given up that Life they had in any wrong
" Thing whatſoever.

When I had drawn up the foregoing Account, and ſhewed it to ſome diſcreet Friends, they ſaid, *it was not beyond her Worth*; yet when I looked it over again, with an Intent to inſert it here, I thought it looked too large; but upon more mature Deliberation, I could not find what Part to omit, but it would hurt the whole Matter, therefore as I found it contained Encouragement to all tender and well-minded People, to perſevere in Faithfulneſs to the End; Caution againſt Pride, Paſſion, and indulging or ſparing any wrong Thing in Church or Family; and ſomething of Advice to ſeveral Conditions and Growths in the Church of Chriſt; it appeared moſt eaſy to me, not to loſe any of thoſe good Fragments which had any Thing of a heavenly Savour in them, and if I have not miſſed it, there is ſomething that has a living Reliſh, for without that I ſhould ſoon be weary of either writing or ſpeaking.

Not long after the Departure of my Wife, it came upon me to viſit the ſouthern Parts of *England*, and ſome Part of *Wales*, and I had good Service and great Satisfaction; and I was alſo at *London*, *John Adam* being my Companion, who was an innocent, clean ſpirited Man.

Again,

Again, I found it required of me to visit the South-west Parts of *England*, in the Year 1717, and I travelled through the West Part of *Yorkshire*, into *Westmoreland*, *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and so on to *Bristol*, and as far as *Cornwall*, and had many good Meetings; although I travelled alone, yet the Lord, in whom I put my Trust and depended upon, helped me, and bore up my Head through and over all, renowned be his most honourable Name, now and for ever.

An ACCOUNT *of my* Visit *to* Friends *in* IRELAND.

IN the Year 1722 is was renewed upon me to go into *Ireland*; the Thoughts of it had been long upon my Mind, but now the Time seemed to be fully come, to pay that long thought of Visit; and *Joseph Bunting* of *Cumberland*, being my Companion, we went from *Kendal* Yearly-meeting, which was a large and good Meeting, and passed along to *Whitehaven*, and took shipping for *Dublin*, and staid their Half-years Meeting, which was large, and in which the living Power and Presence of the Lord was felt amongst us; exalted over all be the mighty Name of the Lord, for those and all his Mercies.

I had there many good Meetings, and also met with some hard ones (as is the Lot of such who are called to this Vocation) and the best way I have found, when I met with such, is first to regard *our Call*, then to mind our *daily Steps* we take in that Vocation

Vocation into which we are called, and take ſpecial Care to have along with us the *Company* and *Counſel* of him that hath ſo called us; this is the way fully and truly to diſcharge ourſelves of that Truſt the Lord hath repoſed in us, to the mutual Comfort and Edification of the Churches of Chriſt, and alſo to the Peace and Conſolation of our own Souls.

It is now with me to write the following Remarks on *Ireland*, which will not be remote to the State of Friends in many other Places, where there is a right, ſound, living Miniſtry preſerved, and good Diſcipline exerciſed, which moſtly go together: There Truth and Friends are kept generally in good Eſteem, and alſo thriving; but where theſe fail, eſpecially the *Diſcipline*, oh! how undue Liberty, and the Faſhions of the World, with many corrupting Things, creep in amongſt the Profeſſors of Truth, even unto the Reproach thereof, and Scandal of thoſe who are ſo prevailed upon; and hearty Sorrow of ſuch as know and feel the Hurt of theſe Things: Oh! what a Hinderance this is to the Progreſs of the ever bleſſed Truth in the Earth; and indeed it hath been in my Mind, that the main Work in this our Day is to ſearch into the Churches, and endeavour to bring them into ſuch a Condition, that it may once more be ſaid, *Follow Chriſt as you have us for Examples*; not only here and there one, but the Believers in general; ſo it will be, when we as a People all ſpeak the ſame Thing, or that which is agreeable, as well in our Practice (ſo often recommended) as in Faith and Doctrine; for I have ever underſtood *Examples* to be more

prevalent

prevalent than *Precept :* But if any amongſt Friends be grown ſo hardy, and ſo unſenſible, as to prefer ſome fooliſh Faſhions, which to me appear to be ſhameful and undecent, it is an evident Demonſtration they are departed too much from the Principles and Practices of our worthy Elders in the Truth; which I fear is the Caſe of too many, both in that Nation and in *England.*

Let not any ſay, that I ſmite in the Dark, and do not tell what I mean; for ſome few particulars I intend to Mention for the Eaſe of my Mind: I have ſeen ſeveral Changes of Faſhions in forty Years Time; our firſt Friends and Promoters of Truth came out in the Lord's Work and heavenly Power, *plain*, and generally continued ſo for their Time; but alas! how ſoon there appeared an Alteration, in ſome Men eſpecially, when the Weight of Sufferings was over; it then began to appear, and hath from time to time continued to encreaſe ever ſince, among ſome profeſſing Truth with us, not only in *extravagant Wigs*, with much Powder in them, but alſo in *Croſs-pockets*, *needleſs Capes*, and divers *Cuts* and *Shapes* in their *Cloathing*, in Conformity to the prevailing Faſhions of the Times, as well as in *ſetting up their Hats*; all which appear to me more likely to lead thoſe who follow them, into *Egypt*, or the World again, than into the heavenly Country or *Canaan*, which we profeſs to be preſſing after, and hope to obtain in the End.

Now, not to let the *Females* paſs without my Obſervation on them: I well remember in my younger Years, eſpecially in great Towns and Cities, I have met

met with those that professed Truth with us, who have had but very little Coverings on their Heads, and others that have had more set up at a considerable Distance above their Foreheads, and both these Sorts perhaps *bare-necked.* When I have met with such I have said, What a fair or beautiful Daughter of *Sion* wouldst thou be, if thou wouldst put on Truth and Christ's Righteousness, and put away all these foolish Fashions? And in Families, when I have asked some Particulars, what they could say for these Dresses, and being so naked, both Neck and Shoulders, I received this Answer, or something like it, *That it was good for their Health, to keep their Temples cool, and to learn to be hardy, by exposing themselves thus to the Air in their Youth:* But if that was the true Reason, I added this Caution to them; to consider duly, *if Religion did not, yet the Modesty of their Sex should, reclaim them from it.* Sometimes, with the Dislike I shewed to these Things, I advised them, *that they would cover their naked Skin, and no more expose themselves to the Lust and vain Speculation of the worst, and great Trouble of their best Friends*; and worst of all, *to the great Hurt of themselves, and in a Manner destroying all reasonable Claim to Christ:* For how can our Love to, and Faith in him be true and sound, when our Practice is so remote from the Practice and Example of Christ and his Apostles, which they gave and endeavour'd to inculcate? *Be not conformed to this World, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your Mind, that ye may prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect Will of God,* Rom. xii. 2. *Whose*

adorning, let it not be that outward Adorning of plaiting the Hair, and of wearing Gold, or of putting on of Apparel : But let it be the hidden Man of the Heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit, which is in the Sight of God of great Price : For after this Manner in the old Time, the holy Women also who trusted in God adorned themselves, being in Subjection unto their own Husbands, 1 Pet. iii, 3, 4, 5. Alas ! woe is me, for the Hurt of the Daughters of *Sion*, when I consider with Regret from whence such are fallen, if ever restored out of the Fall.

If we as a People should follow such Examples as I have touched upon, certainly we shall become an Hissing and a Bye-word to all Nations round about, who may have heard of us, and what great Things the Lord of Hosts hath done for us since we became a People, as may, and has been seen and heard in Examples, Words, and Writings from our faithful Friends and Brethren (the chief Promulgators of Truth and Righteousness) in their unwearied Labours, Faith, and Sufferings for the Cause and Testimony of Jesus Christ ; and what also was not less remarkable, by their exemplary Lives of Plainness, Humility, Sincerity, and Self-denial, with Works of Charity.

Now, thou that readest this, beware that thou dost not let in any wrong Mind, and in that begin to judge me instead of judging thyself ; for as far as I know, I have but done my Duty : See first, that thou dost thine before thou begins to judge me. Bear this Caution from thy Friend, thou that God hath

hath endued with his Spirit, and wait till this holy Spirit of Truth is upon thee a Spirit of Judgment; as thou abideſt under theſe Qualifications, thou art fit to ſit in Judgment, and judge wrong Things in thyſelf firſt, next in thy Family, and then in the Church of Chriſt; and be unwearied in thy Labours to preſerve, as well as to reſtore, what thou art capable of doing in the Church of Chriſt, from all wrong Ways and Things; for if Corruption and Slackneſs come in, and prevail over the Leader, as well as over thoſe whom God hath raiſed thee up to be a Help unto, then will the Lord deal with both thee and them ſome other Way; for I am ſatisfied the Lord will turn his Hand upon his People in theſe Days, as he did upon *Iſrael* formerly, ſaying, by his Prophet, *He would purge away her Droſs, and take away all her Tin*; not only all groſs Evils, but alſo that which in Appearance may be like Truth, but is not Truth: This was and will be the Way to *reſtore Judges as at the firſt, and Counſellors as at the Beginning: Oh! then ſhall the* Gentiles *ſee thy Righteouſneſs, and all Kings thy Glory*, ſaid the Prophet.

Although there is great Occaſion for an Amendment in many, yet there is a bright and heavenly-minded Remnant in *England*, *Ireland*, and many other Parts in the World, againſt whom I find not any Thing to preſs upon my Mind to complain of; but a Word of Encouragement ſprings in the Life, in the Love and good Will of God, to preſs and perſuade you to a ſteady Perſeverance in the true Faith, and in an exemplary and pious Life;

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(I never saw more need of this than now, according to my View of the State of Things) that when the Lord the righteous Judge, who *will bring every Work into Judgment, with every secret Thing*, these, as before-mentioned, may be found *clear of the Blood of all Men*, seeing that they have warned them, and given Notice when they have seen any Danger, or an Enemy approach nigh to them.

Here is Work for such as God hath set up as Watchmen over his People, to see that those do not go on in Bye-ways, who profess Truth, and leave the Way of Truth unoccupied by them; here is Work for the true Judges, who have the Spirit of Judgment upon them: And notwithstanding some, here and there, who may be found in the faithful Discharge of that Trust the Lord hath reposed in them, may meet with some Opposition from such as are unfaithful, and not willing to be bounded and girded by the Truth, no not so much as to an *outward Conformity* to the Plainness and Decency, so much and frequently recommended by the Writings, by publick Testimonies, and also in our Meetings for Discipline; for it is a considerable Branch of our Meetings for Discipline to inspect into, and take Care to see that Friends walk orderly as becomes our holy Profession; and where wrong Steps are made, and wrong Ways are gone into, and Liberty taken by any who do profess Truth with us, that such may be dealt with, and the Evil, as also the bad Consequence thereof, laid before them, and they be laboured with, and not left; for although it may be but a small Appearance or Beginning of a

Leprosy,

Leproſy, which is naturally apt to ſpread, unleſs proper Applications, and in due Time too, be made in the Wiſdom and Love of God; yet if any there be who prefer their own Wills, and ſo far love that Life they have in thoſe Things, that are not only evil in themſelves, but alſo of evil Conſequence by their bad Example, more than they love Truth and the Unity of the Brethren, ſuch had better for Truth's ſake, and for the Reputation of the Teſtimony thereof, be dealt with, for Eaſe of the Minds of the Faithful, who ſuffer under the Senſe they frequently labour of a Cloud of Darkneſs and Oppreſſion, wrong Ways and wrong Things.

It may not be amiſs to give a Hint here, at what Door many have gone out into divers Evils; *firſt*, by being brought by Cuſtom to be in love with *Strong-drink*, and keeping *looſe Company*; for even ſuch have been ſo far a Means to corrupt, and in Time to draw away the Mind from that Simplicity and Purity the Lord's People ought to live in; until a Cloud has come over the Underſtanding, and the Senſe of the Virtue and heavenly Savour of the precious Truth is loſt; and then the old Inhabitants of the Land (comparatively ſpeaking) croud in again, as Pride, Paſſion, Luſt, Envy, looſe Converſation, open Drunkenneſs; nay ſome worſe Spirits than ever had poſſeſſed them before, have now entered their Minds with the former, that were once meaſurably overcome and caſt out; it is therefore certain, that the End of theſe will be miſerable, except the Lord grants them a Place of Repentance while here.

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Now my tender and well beloved Friends, watch againſt and ſtrive to keep out the Enemy that *he enter not*; for what way ſoever he enters and gets Footing, he defiles God's Temple, and before thou witneſſeſt the Lord to Deſtroy him and caſt him out again, thou muſt have many a ſore Combat, and ſome Warfare (perhaps more than thou art aware of) before thou gaineſt all the Ground thou haſt loſt, by giving way to the Adverſary of thy Soul; therefore keep upon thy *Watch-tower*, watch *unto the End, watch and pray continually, that ye enter not into Temptation*, ſaid our great Lord unto his Followers: For I have found by Experience, that it is harder to gain what we have loſt, than to keep it while we had it; and to improve our Talents, is not only the way to have them continued, but alſo to have them more abundantly added unto us; but ſuch as do not improve what is given unto them, even that which they have been intruſted with ſhall be taken from them: Oh! how deſolate and miſerable ſuch will be in the Day of Account, when Chriſt, like a great Shepherd, divides the *Sheep* from the *Goats*, and between the *Slothful* and the *Faithful Servants*, between the *wiſe* and the *fooliſh Virgins*, and between all thoſe who adhered to, obeyed, and followed him according to the Meaſure of Light and Knowledge received, and thoſe who have rejected and diſobeyed the Strivings and Convictions of God's holy Light, and bleſſed Spirit, placed in the Hearts of the Children of Men to enlighten, inſtruct, reprove, comfort, and guide, according to the State of every individual Mind, as it is conformable or diſobedient to

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inward Convictions. So is this holy Gift a Witneſs for, or againſt, to accuſe, or excuſe in thy Conſcience, according as thy good or evil Doings are and do prevail in thy Heart and Soul. But this is ſomewhat a Digreſſion from the hiſtorical Part of my Travels; for as I have mentioned before my going into *Ireland*, I ſhall now ſay ſomething more particularly thereof.

We journeyed from *Dublin* towards *Cork*, and had ſeveral Meetings in our Way, as at *Ballicane Culladine*, *Wexford*, *Lambſtown*, *Waterford*, *Clonmel*, *Caſhel*, *Yeughall*, *Cork*, and ſtaid their Province Meeting for *Munſter*, which was a good and large Meeting. I was much out of Order here, by reaſon of a Fever-and-Ague which held me ſeveral Days, and I was much obliged to my Friends *John Dodds*, *Joſeph Hoare* and his Family, for the great Care they took of me in my weak State; I was not without ſome Reaſonings for a Time, as to my being out of my native Country, but the Lord who is mighty in Power, helped me and raiſed me again, and gave me Ability to diſcharge myſelf of that Service I was called to, honoured for ever be the great Name of the Lord for this and all his Mercies.

Next we came to *Charleville*, *Limerick*, *Roſs*, and from thence to *John Aſhton*'s, *Birr*, *James Hutchinſon*'s, *Montrath*, *Mountmelick*, *Henry Ridgway*'s, and from *Balinakil* to *Montrath* again, and was at their Six-weeks Meeting, which was a heavenly and good Meeting, there being a living Remnant there: Then we came to *Kilconner*, *Carlow*, *Ballitore*, *John Stephenſon*'s, *Timahoe*, *Edenderry*, and went to ſee my

good

good Friend *Thomas Wilson*, who was sore troubled with the *Gravel*; I was much afflicted, and truly sympathized with him in my Spirit, and *John Barcroft*, that true Man, and I did what we could for our afflicted Brother, and so left him and his Family in the Love of God; and went to *Lismoiny*, the *Moat*, *Waterstown*, *Ballimury*, *Athlone*, and had another Meeting at the *Moat*; *Oncastle*, *Ballihays*, *Coothill*, *Castlesheen*, *Ballihagan*, *Charlemount*, *Dumcloudy*, *Colrain*, *James Moor*'s, the *Grange*, *Antrim*, *Lisburn*, *Hillsborough*, and was at their Province Meeting, which was held at *Ballenderey*, and was also at some Meetings twice; *Monallen*, *Trumery*, *Lurgan*, *Raffer-Island*, *Newry*, and from thence to *Drogheda*, and so to *Dublin*, being the 29th of the *Fifth-Month*, 1722, and stayed there some Meetings; and a living Remnant there is in that City, but it is a rich Place; the mighty God of Heaven and Earth keep his People low, and truly humble in that great City and every where else, is the earnest Desire of my Soul to the Lord; for I know there is a considerable Remnant, whose Labour and daily Travail is to have the Church kept clean from all manner of Defilements both of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, so that she may be presented unto God the Father without *Spot* or *Wrinkle*, or any such Thing, in the Day when she must appear before the great Judge of all the Earth, who will do Right unto every one, according as their Works are found to be Good or Evil.

Being clear of *Dublin* and the whole Nation, I took shipping for *Whitehaven*, and had a short Pas-

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ſage but very rough one, and had ſome Meetings in my way Home, to which I got on the 21ſt of the *Sixth Month*, 1722, and found my Children recovered from the Fever and Ague in which I left them when I took my Journey, which Diſtemper had ſo far prevailed over them, that they were ſometimes ſcarcely ſenſible; it had been upon them for a conſiderable Time, and it proved a Trial to me to leave them in that very weak State, but one Day as I ſought the Lord in the Fervency of my Heart, to know whether I ſhould leave theſe my two poor weak Children or not, as alſo my Houſe-keeper much in the ſame Caſe (who were all my conſtant Family) it ſprang in my Heart livingly as though it had been ſpoke with a Man's Voice, *Leave them, and I will take Care of them*; I ſaid, *Thou the Lord haſt never failed me, I will leave them to thee, do what ſeemeth good in thy Eye with them*, I looked then no more behind me, neither at them nor any thing elſe I had left, but became as if I had not any thing in the World. For thus it behoveth all the Servants of Chriſt to do, even the Married as if they were not married; and thoſe that buy any Thing, as if they did not poſſeſs it: This is a Liberty which many are Strangers unto, it is wrought by the Finger of God; it is the Work of God's heavenly Power to looſen Man thus from the Things of this World, and at the ſame Time we are moſt bound unto Chriſt, yet enjoy a comfortable and heavenly Freedom in our Spirits in Chriſt, by our Faith and Obedience unto him, in and through all Trials, Pro-

vings and Adverſities: And *dear Freinds*, the greater the Croſs, the greater is the Crown and Reward, which all thoſe poſſeſs, who do all Things they do with a ſingle Mind, and an upright Heart unto the Lord in all Things, and at all Times.

Thus the *Children of the Bridegroom* are or ought to be eſpouſed or married to Chriſt, and truly devoted to him, that ſo they may ſtand, as much as may be, diſentangled from all mutable Things, and cleave to and follow him when and whereſoever he calls and leads; and be in Subjection to him, as a virtuous Wife is not only bound, but willingly is ſubject, to her virtuous and preferable Huſband: Thus we may know and experience Chriſt to become our *holy Head*; and that we may hold unto him, and that we may ſo walk and live, that he may take Delight in his Church, (the Body) to rule in and over it, as we have the State of the true Church and Chriſt repreſented in the moſt excellent and ſacred Writings of the holy Scriptures. Oh! that we may likewiſe know the *Marriage of the Lamb* to be come, and that as of old, we may make ourſelves *ready*, put off the Sins and Corruptions of the Word that are thro' Luſt, and *put on the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and his pure Righteouſneſs*: This is the *fine Linen, the Righteouſneſs of the Saints*; this is the *Wedding Garment*; without which Preparation, and true Bride's Attire, I cannot ſee how any can expect an Admittance into the *Bridegroom's Chamber*: Therefore I intreat all ſuch as do not find themſelves in Preparation, and have not their Peace aſſured to them, and want the Seal or Evidence of the Spirit

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of the Lord *that they are his*, not to ſlumber away their precious Time until the *Midnight*, leſt unexpectedly the Cry be heard to ſound with Terror in thy Ears, *Ariſe, trim thy Lamp, for behold the Bridegroom cometh*, who hath in Times paſt exerciſed Mercy and Loving-kindneſs towards thee, and has ſought divers Ways to win thee to love him; he has at times reproved thee for thy evil Ways, and at other Times he hath ſet before thee the Comforts and Happineſs thou ſhouldſt poſſeſs, if thou wouldſt obey and follow him; nay, he hath wooed thee as a young Man doth a Virgin, and if thou hadſt devoted thyſelf to him, he would have gathered and ſaved thee, and rejoiced over thee as a Bridegroom doth over his Bride. But if thou turneſt thy back upon all his Reproofs, Intreaties, and Endearments (as in the Parable of the *five fooliſh Virgins*) in the Time when he (the Bridegroom) calls to an account, he will not know thee otherwiſe than to ſhut thee out of his Preſence and Favour, notwithſtanding whatever thou mayſt have heard, received or done, if thou continueſt to work Wickedneſs, and art not reclaimed there from.

Theſe Things ſprang in my Mind as a Warning for all, to flee from every deſtructive Thing, before the Lord overtakes them, when they cannot eſcape his Hand of Juſtice; and alſo, that the Faithful may be encouraged in well-doing, and to a faithful Perſeverance to the End, *Amen*.

Some Things which have been omitted, I think proper to inſert here, as worthy of Obſervation. As I was travelling towards *Lincoln*, and paſſing through

through *Brig*, Friends gave me Notice that there were two great Diſputants, a *Nonconformiſt* Miniſter, and a Doctor of *Phyſick*, who were like to go all or moſt of the Way with me, as the Aſſizes were coming on, and would be at me with Arguments about Religion, which I ſoon found true; for we were no ſooner got into a ſuitable Way but they began with me, which I endeavoured to prevent by telling them, I did not look upon myſelf to be qualified for *Diſputes*; and withal I obſerved, that ſometimes Diſputants ended in a worſe Underſtanding one of another than when they began, except they minded well to keep good Government; and now as we appeared free and friendly, how we might be when we had ended our Diſpute, was a Queſtion, therefore I had rather they would forbear: But they turned the deaf Ear to all that I ſaid, and nothing would do with them, but a Diſpute we muſt have. I then aſked them what they would ſay? They queried, *Whether all Men were placed in a Station capable of Salvation, yea or nay?* I replied, If I ſhould give my poſitive Thoughts to your Queſtion, we ſhall have Occaſion to go back to treat of the Nature, not only of the upright State Man was in before he fell, but alſo how he fell; and alſo in the Fall, how he ſtands as in Relation to his Reſtoration, which brings us to the Queſtion. Although this be not the uſual Way of Diſputants, yet if you will ſubmit to it, it will either Anſwer your Queſtion, or ſet it in a clearer Light for an Anſwer. They aſked, *How could that be?* I replied, if it did not, they might ſay ſo. They then ſo far condeſcended

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as to hear me, and I said, *first*, we all agree in this, that Man was made upright; *secondly*, that he fell from that Uprightness; the Question then is, *How? Answ.* By the Offence or Disobedience of the first Man *Adam*, Sin entered and Condemnation came upon all who had sinned. I then queried of the Disputants, whether they believed that *Adam*'s Fall did affect all those who did not hear of it, as well as those who did? For, I said, there were some of Opinion, that those who had not the explicit or outward Knowledge of the promised Seed or coming of Christ, had not the Benefit of his Coming; and except they would first allow, that all were affected or hurt by *Adam*'s Fall, then such as were not, remained in Paradise to this Day, except they would make the Remedy less than the Disease, the Plaister less than the Sore, and Christ's Coming less extensive than *Adam*'s Fall. I argued, that upon the foot of Reason, as well as what we had in plain Scripture, Christ's Coming was as extensive as the Fall of *Adam*; for, *by the Obedience of Christ, the Gift of God came upon all unto Justification.*

Now I think, said I, your Question is set in a clear Light for an Answer, or else Answered; so take it at what End you will (laying aside all Quibbling) I intend to join Issue with you, and prove that *all Men are placed in a Station capable of Salvation*; or otherwise you must leave a great Part of the World in Paradise, or make the Coming of Christ less extensive than the Fall of *Adam*. I then queried, what they said to all this? They answer'd, *they never heard the like before, and they would not meddle with*

with me, I was too great a Scholar for them. I ſaid, there was little of Scholarſhip in it; I offered, I thought, nothing but plain Scripture and ſound Reaſon; and I told them, I had now as good as anſwered their Queſtion, and had given ſeveral Reaſons to back my Anſwer, and as they appeared wiſe, well read Men, and as far as I had gathered, had been principled againſt *univerſal Salvation*, and *univerſal Grace*, for them now to drop the Matter ſo ſlenderly, before me who appear'd but like a Child to them, was very ſurprizing: But they replied, *they would not meddle with me.*

I then commended them for their good Temper, and the Civility they ſhewed to me, for they were civil to me beyond what I could expect; and they invited me to the Burial of one of their deceaſed Friends, but I could not go, for I was in haſte to get to *Lincoln*, having ſome Buſineſs there that haſtened me. Now at parting with them, my Soul magnified the Lord, under a Senſe of his Goodneſs to me, in that he had opened my Way, and helped me through this Difficulty, with many other Trials and Afflictions I had met with.

I had at another Time ſome Reaſonings with a *Papiſt* who was my Neighbour, about the *Viſibility* of their Church, and *Tranſubſtantiation*, with ſeveral other Things. As to the *firſt*, I ſhewed him, that *the true Church, fled into the Wilderneſs, where ſhe was for Times, Time, and half a Time*; in this State we do not read ſhe had any outward Character as a viſible Church; and that if they derived their Deſcent, it was from ſome falſe Church, and not through

through the true one. And as to the other, they took too much upon them, more than they could justify from Scripture, or clearly demonstrate from Christ or his Apostles; for Christ never gave any of them such a Commission, as to *convert Bread and Wine* into *real Flesh and Blood*, and then to call it *Christ*. You, said I, by these Notions, deceive yourselves and your Adherents; for Christ spoke unto such as you by Parables, because they were carnal, and did not understand the Meaning of his Sayings in this Case, no more than the *Jews* understood what Christ meant, when he spoke of destroying *this Temple* (meaning his Body) which they understood was of that Temple at *Jerusalem*, which they made a great Wonder at, and said, *How can this be, that he can destroy this Temple, and raise it up again in three Days, when it was Forty eight Years in building?* Thus they reasoned carnally, as *Nicodemus* (though a Ruler of the *Jews*) did concerning *Regeneration* or the *new Birth*; and as the Woman of *Samaria* did, from whence Christ should have that living Water, which he spoke of, that *should be in Man as a Well of living Water, springing up unto everlasting Life*; and as the *Jews* did, when Christ said, *Except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you*; they said, *How can this be, that he can give us his Flesh to eat, and his Blood to drink?* But this is a spiritual Eating and Drinking; even as Christ said, *Out of the Belly of him that believes, shall flow Rivers of living Waters*; *which he spake of the Spirit:* In like manner it is said in the *Revelations*, *Behold I stand at the Door and knock, if any hear my Voice,*

Voice, and open unto me, I will come in, and sup with him, and he with me. Here is an Union of Spirits between Christ and his faithful Children, and here is an inward Eating and Drinking of the heavenly, spiritual and mystical Flesh and Blood of Christ, which carnal Men cannot eat of, neither can the carnal Eye discern Christ's spiritual Body, which he feeds his living and spiritual Church withal. When I had reasoned with the Man to this Effect, he went away seemingly not pleased, but would not from that Time ever meddle with me any more.

I need not say much here about *Christ's being come*, having shewed, in a Conference in *New-England*, how he is come to answer his Eating and Drinking the Passover and last Supper with his Disciples, saying, *he would drink no more of the Fruit of the Vine, until he drank it new with them in his Father's Kingdom.* Now he that hath experienced what this Eating and Drinking is, is come beyond the outward Eating and Drinking, *into the Kingdom* which is *within*, which comes not with outward Observations, Eatings, Drinkings, nor carnal Ordinances, but the Kingdom of Heaven consists in *Righteousness, Peace and Joy in the holy Ghost.*

Now, read this thou that canst, and learn to understand between the Thing that Points, and the Thing which is pointed at, and between the Thing signifying, and the Thing signifyed, and mistake not the Shadow for the Substance any longer; for it is possible a Man may do all the outward Parts, and yet be ignorant of the Cross of Christ, and of the heavenly Substance: But if he is come to the

End

End of these outside Things, to the Holy of Holies, such will know what it is to minister before the Lord in his Temple, and to serve and wait at the holy Alter, and live, and have that pure spiritual Life preserved: For we read not of any *Tithes* that appertain to this spiritual Priesthood, or Gospel Ministry; and what their outward Maintenance was to be, is shewed by Christ, beyond Contradiction, who sent them forth. Where they were received (mark that well) *they might eat such Things as were set before them*, but were not to take any Thing from them by Force, for that is out of the Doctrine and Practice of Christ and his Apostles.

Why do People call the Scripture their *Rule of Faith and Manners*, when at the same Time they believe and act contrary thereto? For when I had some Years before a Debate with the Priest of our Parish, we meeting at *Sponton*, I being there upon some Occasion, and several People met together, the Priest demanded my Reasons, *why I did not pay him his Tithe?* I used some persuasive Arguments to put him off, not being willing at that Time to enter into any Debate with him; but the more I shewed my Unwillingness to it, the more urgent he was upon me: So when I could not see how to avoid entering into some close Debate with him, I desired he would not be angry, and he said *he would not*; I then shewed in several Particulars, why *I could not pay him any Tithe*, because I believed, if he was a Minister of Jesus Christ, he ought not to claim any; for, as there was a *Change of the Priesthood*, there also must be of Necessity a *Change of the Law*, as

we see in *Heb.* vii. 12. and to pretend to draw any Command or Example from Christ or his Apostles, out of the new Testament, for that Purpose, appears to me weak and inconsistent.

We had some farther Discourse upon the Ground of his Right and Title to Tithes, whether *Jure divino*, as they used to be formely claimed, or *Jure humano*, that is, by human Laws, as most of the modren Priests seem to chuse to fix their Title; I bid him fix his Right for Tithes on which Claim he pleased, and I would endeavour to answer him as well as I could, but he seem'd not to fix upon either; whereupon I told him, *That there was no scriptural Settlement of* Tithes *upon Gospel Ministers*, and also offered to prove, that he was neither in the Practice of the *Levites*, to whom Tithes were directed to be paid, nor yet in the Practice of those Ministers whom Christ qualified, ordained and sent forth: *First*, not in the Practice of the *Levites*; because the Tithes due to them, were for their Service and punctual Performance of their Part of the ceremonial Law, *Numb.* xviii. 21. which if any now claimed, it seemed to me, that he subjected himself to the Practice of *burnt Offerings* and *Sacrifices*, *Circumcision*, Jewish *Habits*, *Washings*, &c. (besides which, the Law which appointed the Tithe to the *Levites*, expresly forbids them to have any Share or Inheritance in the Land, as appears from *Numb.* xviii. 20, 23, 24, and *Deut.* xviii. 1, 2.) which the modren Claimers of Tithe would be loth to be compelled to the Practice of: Not to insist on the Law of the *third Year's Tithe*, of which the Widow, the Fatherless

Fatherleſs and the Stranger within their Gates, were to receive a conſiderable Part as their alloted Portion, *Deut.* xiv. 28, 29. *Secondly*, not in the Practice of thoſe Miniſters Chriſt qualified and ſent forth; for theſe went out by an eſpecial Command from him, without Gold, Silver or Braſs in their Purſes, without two Coats; and ſo intent were they to be in the Execution of their great Duty of preaching the Goſpel, that they were to ſalute no Man by the way, but to go forward on the great Errand they had received in Commiſſion: And when they returned to their Lord he aſked them, *If they lacked any Thing?* And they ſaid, *Nothing*; yet not becauſe they had forced a Maintenance from any, but that the Effect of their Miniſtry among their Hearers had been ſo prevalent, that thoſe who had been convinced by their Doctrine, and turned to the effectual Power of Chriſt in themſelves, had from thence known their Hearts ſo opened, as to adminiſter to all their immediate Neceſſities; and theſe, thus ſent, had only *eat ſuch Things as were ſet before them*, as they were appointed; and where they *had ſown Spirituals*, had only reaped of the Temporals of their Converts for their immediate Subſiſtance: But though thou ſoweſt not to me of thy *Spirituals*, nor do I believe thee to be one who haſt any thing ſpiritual, which can be of any Benefit to my ſpiritual Part; and though thou eſteemeſt me *as an Heathen Man and a Publican*, and I am excommunicated and cut off from any Church-fellowſhip with thee, (not for any Evil, but as far as I can underſtand, for not coming to what thou calleſt the *Church)*

Church) yet thou expecteſt to reap of my Temporals, becauſe the Law of the Land has given thee that Power; which Diſpoſition *to reap where thou has not ſown*, and *to gather where thou haſt not ſtrown*, is far from manifeſting a *Chriſtian* Spirit.

The Prieſt farther urged ſome Paſſages out of the New Teſtament, in Vindication of the Payment of Tithes, alluding to that of the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* ix. 7. about *ſowing of ſpiritual Things unto us*; that it was *but a ſmall Thing if ſuch received of our carnal Things*; and that *of feeding a Flock, and partaking of the Milk of the Flock*, and *of planting a Vineyard, and eating the Fruit thereof:* All which I endeavoured to obviate, by ſhewing, that he did not ſow his *Spirituals* to us, ſo as that he might be intituled to our carnal Things; neither were we of that *Flock* which he ſhould partake of the Milk of; neither were a *Vineyard* which he had planted, that he might eat of the Fruit thereof. Furthermore I ſaid, as I am a Stranger and an excommunicated Perſon, and not of thy Children, the Apoſtles, if they wanted or were in any Straits for Neceſſaries, did not apply to Strangers for Help, but to ſuch of their Children as they had been inſtrumental in the Hand of God to plant the true Faith, and ſow the Seed of the Kingdom in: Now theſe who were thus convinced, and by the Work of God's Power converted, theſe were ſuch who knew ſpiritual Things ſown in them, who I believed were very free to diſtribute (where true Need was) of their temporal Things, eſpecially to ſuch who had been inſtrumental in the Lord's Hand to their coming to the ſaving Knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt.

Chriſt. But I ſhewed the Prieſt, that all this carried no Analogy to what was between him and me, for I, being excommunicated, was but to him *as an Heathen Man and a Publican*, and as we never came to here him, we could not owe him any Acknowledgment, nor could he expect any Thing as a freewill-offering on that Account.

This Prieſt *Wakes*, (for that was his Name) was a ſtrong ſpirited Man, of conſiderable Parts and Learning; and a neighbouring Juſtice of the Peace told me, he was fearful would be very ſevere with me; yet to his Commendation be it ſpoken, he was ever after this Conference very loving, and never gave me any Trouble for thoſe he called his Dues.

I may add one Obſervation or two not mentioned in our Debate, which were, that *if the Maintenance of the Prieſts was to be wholly withdrawn, or left to the Freedom and Generoſity of the People, many of them would want and come to Poverty, and be forced to labour with their Hands, which would diſtract or at leaſt impede their Studies.* I anſwer'd, that with ſuch Miniſters as they were, *this might be the Caſe:* But if all would come truly and rightly to wait on the great Teacher, the Anointing in themſelves, it would grealy tend to the Advantage of *Chriſtendom*; for the Almighty, who by his good Spirit is alone able to raiſe up and qualify Goſpel-Miniſters, as he knows the Wants of his People, and their Faith and Truſt in him, would no doubt raiſe up from among them faithful Miniſters; ſuch who being humble, meek and low in Heart, like him of whom they had learned, would be content to live in Moderation

tion on a little, and to labour in their respective Callings, like the Apostle *Paul*, that great Minister of the *Gentiles*, working with their Hands that their Ministry might not be chargeable, such as *Fishermen, Collectors of Customs*, &c. whose Ministry being not their own, but received immediately from the great Shepherd of the Sheep, would not require much Time and Study to pen down, but coming from the Spirit of Truth immediately moving upon the Minister's Heart, would be more effectual to reach the Witness of Truth in the Hearts of their Hearers than all the laboured Discourses of the most subtil Priest, though the Produce of much Pains and Study. Neither have I found in all my Travels, from any Observation I have made, that ever the faithful Ministers of Christ became any great Burthen or Charge to the Churches; for I have seen the divine Providence attend the Lord's faithful Servants, who thereby have been enabled to order their Affairs with Discretion, so as to want little.

An ACCOUNT *of my* second Visit *to* FRIENDS *in* AMERICA.

I Having had Drawings in my Mind, for some considerable Time, once more to visit Friends in several Parts of *America*, and inasmuch as I believed it was my Duty, and what the Lord required of me to give up to, I was resigned, after some Reasonings

Reasonings about my Age, and Declension as to Ability of outward Strength, concerning which I met with some inward Conflicts and Combatings which brought me very low for a Time; but the Lord helped me thro' these Difficulties, and caused his Truth to spring comfortably in my Heart, and his heavenly Presence I witnessed at Times to refresh my Soul in these Exercises unknown to many; and the Time being come for my preparing for the Journey, on the 15th of the *Third Month* 1731, I set forward from *Hutton* in the *Hole* to *Scarborough*, where I took shipping with *George Widget* for *London*, and came thither the first Day of the Yearly-meeting, with which I was very well satisfied, and on the 25th Day of the *Fourth Month* went on board of a Vessel bound for *Philadelphia*, in *America*, *John Wilcox* Master, who was very civil and kind to me.

On the 27th of the said *Month* we set sail, and had a good Passage in the main, excepting that we had one very great Storm, in which we were in Danger of being lost; our Bolt-sprit was broke, and the Masts were in Danger of coming down, yet we were preserved and in about eleven Weeks, being the 12th of the *Seventh Month*, I landed near *Philadelphia*, to the great Satisfaction of Friends as well as myself, renowned be the great Name of the Lord for ever.

I have many Times considered, that although it was my Place to leave my very near and dear Friends, Children and Relations, who in a tender Frame of Spirit were much concerned for me, and I for them,

yet

yet I met with many tender-hearted Friends in my Travels, who were very near me in the ever bleſſed Truth; which fails not thoſe who truſt in the Lord, and are faithful, according to the Ability and Underſtanding which the Lord hath given to the Children of Men, and are devoted to anſwer the Leadings aud Guidance of his holy Spirit, and willing to bear the Croſs, Burthen, or Yoke, which he ſees good to lay upon his Servants and Handmaids: And I intreat all ſuch who are called unto the Lord's great Work, to give up cheerfully and not grudgingly, and not to look back at what is behind, ſo as to haſten or hinder themſelves in that Work they are called to, leſt they fall ſhort of that *Penny*, or *Crown*, which the Faithful will receive in the End of all their Labour.

The Yearly-meeting at *Philadelphia* was nigh when we landed, which was large, and a good Meeting, many Friends from ſeveral Parts being at it. Here I met with *Henry Frankland*, and we were truly glad to ſee each other, and went in Company together ſouthward towards *Maryland*, *Virginia*, and *North Carolina*, and return'd to *Pennſylvania*; and in a ſhort time after we parted: He came for *England*, and I travelled for *New-England* through the *Jerſeys*, *Long-Iſland*, *Rhode-Iſland* and *Nantucket*, having *Richard Waln* of *Pennſylvania* for my Companion, an innocent kind Man; we paſſed through all, or moſt part of the aforeſaid Provinces and Iſlands, and had very large Meetings, and great Attention there was in many to hear the Teſtimony of Truth, and an open Door both of Utterance and

nd in many Places of Entrance, for what was de-ivered; yet not without Oppoſition in ſome Places.

I had ſome Diſcourſe with a *Baptiſt*, a Juſtice of Peace, in one of the *Jerſeys*, (a Man whom I truly oved) and he told me that ſome of his Children vent to our Meetings, and he did not hinder them; ie appeared a tender ſpirited Man, and was of good Repute in theſe Parts where he lived, and very ſer-iceable in his Poſt; What we had moſt in de-ate, was touching *Water-Baptiſm*; I endeavoured o ſhew him the Uſe and End of all the *ſhadowy Things*, all which were ended in Chriſt the *Subſtance*, r Antitype; and that ſuch outward Materials or Elements appertained not unto his Kingdom, or nward and ſpiritual Adminiſtration; nor could they ake away the Root or Cauſe of Sin, which is only ffected by the holy Ghoſt and Fire, or the holy Ghoſt that worketh as doth Fire, to the cleanſing nd purifying the Hearts of the Children of Men, s is the Nature of material Fire to cleanſe what it s properly applied unto.

I met with the ſame Juſtice afterwards at *Bur-ington* in *Weſt Jerſey*, he was glad to ſee me, and o was I to ſee him, for he was very loving and riendly. I likewiſe met with a Man who was a chool-maſter upon *Long Iſland*, that appeared omewhat offended at ſomething I had ſaid in a Meeting where he had been, and he followed me o a Friend's Houſe, and appeared ſo full of Scrip-ures in Vindication (as he thought) of *Water-Bap-iſm*, that what with his reading many Paſſages in he Scriptures, and paraphraſing upon them, he

would not hear me for some Time; but when he was quiet I said to him, *Thou hast not treated me like a fair Disputant, to run on so long, and not to give me Time to make my Objections; if thou hadst pitched upon any particular Scripture, and given me Liberty to have answered, it would have been civil and reasonable.* He owned, he had not done fairly by me; but I desired to know, what Church he pretended to belong to? He answered, *To the Episcopal Church.* I then requested he would answer me one Question before we entered into any farther Debate, and he promised he would if he understood it. I told him, I heard he was a Scholar, and no doubt but understood how to answer it, if he did but consider the Matter; the Query was this, *Whether the* Sprinkling *a little Water in a Child's Face, would bear the Name* Baptism, *yea or nay?* He said, it would not. I answered, *Thou hast made a great Pother and Noise about little or nothing; for by thy own Confession thy Church has* no Baptism *at all, for I know not of any other Way they use but* Sprinkling. He would not enter into any farther Discourse about it, but made use of the Words of *Gamaliel*, in favour of the Work the Apostles were concerned in, saying, *If this Work be of God it could not be overthrown, but if it was of Man it would come to nought.* I told him, *I was of his Mind; and the Lord hath supported me in this and the like Work, now between forty and fifty Years, and if I continued faithful, I had no Doubt at all in my Mind, but he would support and stand by me to the End.* And when we parted he said, The Lord of Heaven and Earth bless you, for I believe you are an honest Man.

By

By this we may see, that Truth sometimes comes over Men, and the Witness which God hath placed in Men is reached, and Truth prevails many times beyond our Expectation, or what is by us foreseen; therefore it is good to keep to the Guidance or Leading of the Spirit of Truth, for it is a blessed Remembrancer, Instructor, and true Comforter to all such as truly depend upon him, who sent the Spirit of Truth into the Hearts of the Children of Men, to guide them into all the necessary Truths which we are to know and practice, and consequently out of all Untruth.

When we had gone through this Island, and visited Friends there, and in *Rhode-Island*, and had some Meetings in our Way, we went to *Nantucket*, where we met with many innocent plain Friends; also on *Rhode-Island*, and in many Places in these Parts of the Country, we found great Openness; in *Boston* beyond Expectation, and there was some Convincement in that Town. We travelled up to *Dover*, and visited Friends thereabout (which are the most remote Parts where Friends inhabit in that Quarter of *New-England*) where I met with a *Presbyterian* Priest: What his Design chiefly was in coming to the Friend's House I know not, but thought it was to see, or rather speak with me, for he soon began to ask me some Questions; first, *Whether I was not brought up a Scholar, and had been in some of the Colleges where I had my Education?* And also, *Whether I had not put on the canonical Gown, and preached according to the Manner of the Church of England?* I replied, I had not received my Edu-

cation in any College, neither ever put on the canonical Gown, nor preached after the Manner of the Church of *England*. He told me, *I had been so represented to him*; and said, *he supposed I had been at some Schools*: I told him, I had been at several to learn when I was young; and said, I did not know that I had given Occasion at any Time, by what I had said, whereby any Man might judge me to be a Scholar. He understood I came from old *England*, and began to ask several Questions, as *Whether our Friends increased or decreased?* I answered, I could not positively tell; I thought there was no great Alteration in my Time as to Number, for their Decrease in one Part of the Nation, I thought might be made up by their Increase in another Part. He also asked me, *How the episcopal Ministers dealt with us about their Tithes?* My Answer was thus; As to that Part called the *Prædial Tithes*, they commonly either gather them themselves or Family, or set them to Tenants who take care to fetch them away before us, knowing that we cannot be free to leave them on the Ground, as Hay and Corn, *&c.* and as to *small Tithes*, there is an * Act of Parliament, called *An Act for the more easy Recovery of small Tithes*,

* The 7th & 8th of *William* the third, Chap 6. is the Act for Recovery of small Tithes or Offerings, *&c.* not amounting to above the Yearly Value of forty Shillings, which is common for all People, the Cost not exceeding ten Shillings, before two or more Justices of the Peace, not to go back above two Years.

The 7th & 8th of *William* the third, Chap. 34. which is our Affirmation Act, is the Act for the Recovery of Tithes and Church rates for any Sum not exceeding ten Pounds from *Quakers* only, before two Justices of the Peace, without any Limitation of Time. And by the Statute of the 1st of *George* the first, Chap. 6. Sect. 2. limited to ten Shillings Cost. *See the Statutes at large.*

Tithes, for any Sum not exceeding forty Shillings, and ten Shillings Coſt; which is by Juſtice's Warrants. This is moſtly thought to be intended to prevent their Procedure by *Exchequer* Proceſs, through which great Havock and Spoil has been made of Friends Goods, and ſometimes their Bodies caſt into Priſon, where ſome have lain a long Time. He aſked, *How our Friends did in* Scotland, *if they increaſed there?* I told him, I heard that they did not increaſe, but ſome of the *Preſbyterians* in *Scotland* were kind to our Friends, and would come to our Meetings, eſpecially if Strangers were at them: And I alſo told him, that Perſecution in our Part of the World was become hateful amongſt moſt ſober People. He ſaid, *It was very well*; and likewiſe mentioned, that *we were refined, and not the People we had been.* I aſked him, wherein he thought we were refined? He anſwered, *in our Principles.* I deſired him to name one, and he ſaid, George Fox *denied the Reſurrection of the Dead.* I told him, *George Fox* did own a Reſurrection according to Scripture, as we do; but becauſe he and our Friends thought it not ſafe to recede from plain Scripture, nor to comply with the Way many People have of expreſſing it, which we think to be too groſs and carnal, *viz.* that the *ſame Body ſhall riſe*, therefore they have aſſerted we deny the Reſurrection: The Apoſtle ſaith, *that which thou ſoweſt, thou ſoweſt not that Body that ſhall be, for it is ſown in Corruption, raiſed in Incorruption, ſown a natural, raiſed a ſpiritual Body*; with much more that might be added: And how much ſuch a Change maketh a Difference between the preſent and the fu-

ture

ture in the Reſurrection, between natural and ſpiritual, Corruption and Incorruption, I know not of any finite Creature that is able truly to determine; and therefore I think it is not conſiſtent with Charity, nor true Wiſdom, to differ about ſuch Things which exceed our Comprehenſion. He allowed it *to be better to let them alone.*

We parted very friendly, and Friends were glad of the Opportunity, he having the Character of being a great Scholar and a wiſe Man; but from all that paſſed, they believed he gained no Advantage: However he behaved well; and before we parted, I told him, I thought the greateſt Reaſon why ſome think us refined was this, That formerly People were ſo prejudiced, that whatever was printed or ſaid againſt us, our Principles, Practice and Doctrine, was generally received and believed, though never ſo much diſguiſed or covered with ſuch Dreſſes as might render us moſt odious, and were by many taken for the Standard of our Belief and Practice; but of late the Light hath more appeared, and many are grown better diſpoſed towards us, and likewiſe Men, not willing to be impoſed upon any longer, have ſearched for themſelves into the State of the Controverſy between us and our oppoſers; and our Writings upon peruſal, appearing ſo clear and different from what the Books of thoſe who oppoſed us charged upon us, cauſed many who read them with a good Deſign, and were willing to be ſet right, to ſay *we were reformed, and not the People that we had been.* The Prieſt ſaid, *he thought there might be much owing to that:* I told him it was undeniable, that there

there must be a great Difference between our Principles, Doctrines and Conversations, truly stated and set forth in their proper Light, and when they were misrepresented, sometimes with all the Art and implacable Malice that Men were capable of: And this has been the Way our Adversaries have treated us, almost in every Thing we have believed, said or writ, although it was very agreeable to the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

We returned back to *Salem*, *Lynn* and *Boston*, and visited Friends in our Way, and at *Rhode-Island*, *Long-Island* and *New-York*; and we had many good Meetings and some large in the *Jerseys*, where I had some Discourse with a Justice of the Peace about *Water-Baptism*, but he did not hold it long before he gave up; and I had another at *Allens-Town* with a *Presbyterian*, which held for some Hours, about *Water-Baptism*, and concerning *Election* and *Reprobation*, and he also soon gave up as to the first; but when he began about *Election* and *Reprobation*, I said, I thought it was the most pernicious Doctrine that ever was broach'd in the World, it did so oppose the very Nature of God, and his Design of creating of Man, which, with all his other Works, he pronounced good and blessed; and that Man, as the Crown and Glory of all his Works which he had created, should be designed for the most miserable End, was unaccountable; I urged many Scriptures against that Doctrine, as also the Confusion they were in about it, as that of their *Westminster* Confession of Faith, wherein they say, *That the Decree is so certain and definite, that one cannot be added to the*

the Number of the Elect, or diminiſhed from the Number of the Reprobate; and yet you tell us, *that God hath ordained the Means to effect his Ends:* I then ſaid, this Suppoſition of a Decree for the Means, as well as the End, ſeems intended to make the Prieſts and their Service neceſſary; but yet if they cannot alter the Decree, what Benefit or Advantage can there be to Men by their Services or Performance? I hope none will think that a Service to Mankind, to ſtrengthen or confirm that Decree if it were in their Power to do it, which I am ſatisfied it is not; becauſe no ſuch Decree was made or is in being; the oppoſite appearing by plain Scripture (which he owned when I urged it) *to wit*, that the *Fall* of *Adam* did affect all; and upon the Parity of Reaſon, the *Coming* of *Chriſt* did reach as far; becauſe, *as in* Adam *all die, ſo in Chriſt ſhall all be made alive*; he taſted Death *for every Man*, was a *Propitiation for the Sins of all*; and where then wilt thou find a People that is not included? But if thou canſt find in, and prove by plain Scripture, that there is ſuch a People not included in theſe general Aſſertions, that *Chriſt came to ſave*, ſhew me who they are. Theſe and much more I urged againſt that Doctrine, and he with many others appeared much ſatisfied, and we parted friendly. He came next Day ſeveral Miles to a Meeting which I had appointed; the Man was counted a wiſe and ſober Man, and was under ſome Convincement, and behaved well.

From thence we went to *Penſylvania*, and had many good Meetings in that Part, and being clear and willing to return, I took leave of Friends in a loving

loving and tender Frame of Spirit, and embarked on board a Ship, whereof *Samuel Flower* was Master, the 1st of the *Third Month*, 1733 at *Philadelphia*, and arrived at *Briſtol* the 18th of the *Fourth Month* following, and was glad we got ſafe to *England*, having been ſeven Weeks in our Paſſage; I got Home on the 6th of the *Sixth Month*, and was truly thankful to the Lord, who had preſerved me in theſe long Travels and Labours of Love, through many Difficulties; but the Lord's Power is ſufficient to bear up and carry through all, Renowned be his worthy Name over all, now and for ever, *Amen*.

A remarkable DELIVERANCE which happened to me, being omitted in its proper Place, I think fit to inſert here, which was as follows;

In the Year 1718 and the *Twelfth Month*, when *John Dodgſon* was viſiting Friends in our Parts, he lodged with me, and I went with him and his Brother-in-Law *Peter Buck*, to be their Guide to *Whitby* and ſtaid their Firſt-day's Meeting; and Second-day's Preparative Meeting; and on the Third-day went on with Friends towards *Scarborough*, to have the better Road home, there having fallen a great deal of Snow while we were at *Whitby*, ſo that was looked upon impracticable for me to return the ſame Way home that I came, it being a very rough bad Way: But in our Way back, within a Mile or little more from *Scarborough*, we came to a Brook, which by reaſon of the exceſſive Rain and Snow

was higher than ever I had seen it, so that when we came to ride thro' it, *Henry Levin*, our Guide, first adventured in, being mounted upon a very strong large Horse, and got over with some Difficulty, and I followed him; but when I came about the middle of the fording Place, it took my Mare off her Feet, and something being in the way, it turned her upon her Broadside, so that I was dismounted and carried away by the Rapidity of the Stream; but there being a Foot-bridge a little below, about Knee deep under Water, and no Rail either to be a Guide, or to lay a Hand on, and the Water being reduced to a narrow Compass, hurried me violently along, and drove me with my Breast against the Bridge with such Force, that it very near knocked the Breath out of me; but before I touch'd the Bridge I happened to hold up my Hand, and *John Dodgson* seeing the Danger I was in, jumped off his Horse, and ran at a venture (seeing the Water ripple) to hit the Bridge, and just caught hold of my Fingers, and held my Head above Water, until *Henry Levins*, who was got over, came to his Assistance.

But by the Strength of the Water in my Boots, they being large, and by a Nail in the Timber under the Bridge) catching hold of my great Coat, which held me fast, it was impossible for one to rescue me, and not without some Difficulty for them both to get me out, the Nail holding so fast that it tore out a great Piece of my Coat, Lining and all; but upon *Henry*'s dismounting, his Horse ran away to *Scarborough*, (and mine swam back to the Company) and when they had got me out, *Henry* run on Foot to get his Horse, and found him at the

Stable

table Door where he used to stand, and in the m
Time *John Dodgson* kept me in Motion by drag
me along, having very little or sometimes no H
of my Recovery. When the Horse returne
got me back to *Scarborough*, but I was not
how, and they had me to *Dorothy Jaques'*
and when there, they could perceive my Lips
but could not hear what I said, until one laid
close to my Mouth, and so understood that
If they gave me any Thing that was strong,
carry me off; which made them very cautious
ever, they stript me and changed my Shirt,
me into a warm'd Bed, and applied warm
to my Feet for three Hours together, which
nothing of, being then altogether senseless.

Isaac Skelton, who had been a Companion o
in the Service of the Truth, through sever
ties, hearing of this Accident, came imm
and got into Bed to me, and kept me cl
Bosom, which many thought was a great
preserve my Life. *John Dodgson*, thou
tended for the Monthly-meeting, expressed
a Concern for me, that he said, *He would*
me in a Way of Recovery, or die, before he
yet it pleased the Lord, of his infinite
wonderfully to raise me up again, as to en
be at the Meeting next Day, and also to
Testimony, which was very acceptable
fortable to Friends, as it was also to se
beyond their Expectation; but yet I was much
troubled with Pain, the fleshy Part of my Shoulder
being

g rent by the violent hauling me out of the ter.

n Gratitude, my Soul can do no leſs than praiſe nify the Lord for this great Deliverance, and her Mercies, who alone is worthy. And I but take Notice of Friends Kindneſs and will to me, in doing whotſoever they could e, but more eſpecially my worthy Friend *Dodgſon*, who hazarded his Life to ſave

FINIS.